

THE REENTRY PROCESS OF WOMEN PAROLEES:

A CASE STUDY IN A SOCIALIZATION COUNSELING

MODEL IN PASTORAL CARE

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
The School of Theology at Claremont in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

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May, 1978

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents a case study in a systems pastoral care approach to the social reorientation and reintegration of displaced and/or deviant persons. The particular case study concerns women parolees. The combination of being both a felon and female is analyzed in its effects of social alienation. From a phenomenological point of view a profile is presented related to such factors as female criminality, the female felon, the female prison career and parole orientation, and the actual reentry experience of women parolees.

In this context I propose a socialization counseling model in pastoral care for women in the critical transition-stage between prison and free society. My thesis is that such a model can be most effectively developed from a systems approach to pastoral care in which the Church provides social structures which facilitate the gradual process of social integration and incorporation of female parolees.

This approach stresses a holistic life structure in which the female offender and her world experience are understood in terms of her goal and value orientation. From this perspective the phenomenon and social significance of crime in the American culture context is considered against the

background of the theological motif of liberation. The task of corrections is considered to be related to disharmony and disorganization in the political structure of society as well as in the psychological structure of individual offenders.

The focus of this study is on the reentry process of parole. The case material utilized is mainly derived from research conducted during a two year experimental rehabilitation project for women parolees at the Crossroads halfway house, Claremont, CA. The psychological reentry dynamics of unrootedness and change are considered in terms of Erikson's developmental concept of crisis. The socialization process of reentry is described as a slow, gradual growth cycle in which the individual's identity is interrelated with an expanding social field. Parole is analyzed as a rite of passage (Van Gennep) in terms of separation, transition and incorporation. Specific "little steps" of social incorporation have been identified in the successful reentry career of women parolees.

The pastoral nature of the socialization model explicated in this study is expressed in the person- and growth-oriented style of counseling. From a systems perspective, the pastoral character comes out in the spiritual and social significance of the Church itself, i.e., when the Church is considered and utilized in its responsible

role and pioneer function in community corrections. The use of a "residential care center" as an interim living milieu is analyzed in terms of a social system intervention in which the Church is the model of the therapeutic community.

INTRODUCTION

This study has originated in an experimental clinical experience over a period of two years of establishing and managing a halfway-house program for female parolees. Such a project covers a wide spectrum of subject material including crime and punishment, female criminality, prison conditions and reform, rehabilitation-counseling approaches and community based correctional and resocialization programs.

Although this study will relate to these and other areas, its primary focus is on the reentry process of female parolees. In October, 1974, my wife Myra and I became the supervisors for a reentry program for women parolees by the name of Crossroads, Incorporated.¹ During the first year we were mainly involved in the organization and establishment of a halfway-house. In the second year we concentrated on the operation of a reentry ministry through the house as a community residential pastoral care center. Thus our experience covered both community-organization and the socialization program for female felons. This dissertation stresses this interrelationship between the individual and his or her place in the community.

¹Further referred to in this study as Crossroads.

The main impetus for the creation of Crossroads' reentry-program came from people involved in a volunteer-prison-visitation program at the California Institution for Women at Frontera. These visitors became aware of the many obstacles which their "prison-friends" at the time of their release faced in making the gigantic step from the institution to the free community. Thus the concern for women in prison led to a concern for those same women out of prison and in a world in which it was hard to find one's place and feel at home.

Many prison visitors were Church-related, and this Church-connection has been crucial to the development of Crossroads' ministry. This dissertation will give special attention to the place of the Church in the community as it relates to Crossroads. The half-way house will be conceptualized in terms of a community residential pastoral care center.

The need for the establishment of Crossroads was further accentuated by the lack of reentry-services available to the specific needs of women-parolees. The vision for Crossroads was to create a house which would "provide a family-environment in which those practical and spiritual values are emphasized which will help in giving direction and meaning to life."² To further emphasize the "family"

²See Appendix VII.

setting we, the supervisors together with our four children, lived in the house as the core of an intentional, extended family.

The intensive involvement with women parolees was present not just in the depth-dimension of the shared life experience at the halfway-house, but also in the wide scope of its reentry services. Crossroads went beyond a merely residential program by its active involvement in pre-release counseling-assistance to prison inmates and in community-organization of social networks to facilitate the reentry-process. In this way Crossroads represents a comprehensive and innovative reentry program designed to correlate the specific needs of women parolees with an expanding radius of community resources.

In this dissertation I propose a socialization counseling model in pastoral care for women in the critical transition stage between prison and free society. My thesis is that such a model can be most effectively developed from a systems approach to pastoral care in which the Church by means of a "community residential pastoral care center" facilitates the gradual process of social integration and incorporation of female parolees. A systems approach to pastoral care stresses the therapeutic role of the Church as a social structure. In this study I will develop a socialization counseling model which utilizes the resources of the Church both as a community of people and in its

spiritual insights and practices of pastoral care.

From the perspective of my own direct involvement as participant-observer, I will critically assess the process of the establishment and operation of Crossroads' reentry-program in the context of the relevant literature. The methodology of utilizing from a phenomenological perspective Crossroads as the clinical setting for this study yields a comprehensive array of data on reentry experiences of female parolees due to the fact of the wide scope of Crossroads' program. All references to and quotations related to contacts with women inmates and parolees which are not footnoted are derived from my own verbatim transcripts of taped interviews and are used by permission of the participants.

In perusing the relevant literature one will find a rather scant treatment of female criminality. Otto Pollak's The Criminality of Women³ is an excellent introduction to the history of how people have understood and treated the female criminal. Discriminatory stereotypes stand out and Pollak himself is no exception in this respect. Pollak's rather exhaustive bibliography of some two hundred and fifty works is valuable in illustrating the curiosity raised by the, for many people, paradoxical concept of the "female criminal." Most of these books, however, highlight society's

³Otto Pollak, Criminality of Women (New York: Barnes, 1961)

understanding of female sex roles linked to a pseudoscientific theory of a "psychology of women." Perhaps the only reputable clinical study predating Pollak's book is the monumental work of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Five Hundred Delinquent Women, published in 1934.⁴ The next studies of clinical significance came out in 1970 in the joint efforts of the psychiatrists C. Robert Cloninger and Samuel B. Guze.⁵

The literature on criminology and corrections as a whole is predominantly related to male criminality, probably because statistically at least crime, until very recently, was predominantly a male problem. Recent books which deal specifically with women and crime stand out as lone exceptions. As such one can mention Ward and Kassebaum's Women's Prison: Sex and Social Structure⁶ (following the male model of Gresham M. Sykes' classic work, The Society of Captives),⁷

⁴Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck, Five Hundred Delinquent Women (New York: Knopf, 1934)

⁵C. R. Cloninger and S. B. Guze, "Psychiatric Illness and Female Criminality: The Role of Sociopathy and Hysteria in the Antisocial Woman," American Journal of Psychiatry, CXXVII:3 (1970), 303-311; and C. R. Cloninger and S. B. Guze, "Female Criminals: Their Personal, Familial and Social Backgrounds," Archives of General Psychiatry, XXIII:6 (1970), 554-558.

⁶David A. Ward and Gene G. Kassebaum, Women's Prison: Sex and Social Structure (Chicago: Aldine, 1965)

⁷Gresham M. Sykes, The Society of Captives (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958)

and the just published Sisters In Crime: The Rise Of The New Female Criminal⁸ by Freda Adler which contrasts the old stereotypes of female criminality with the new spiraling trends of aggressive and violent female crime.

When we consider the specific area of interest in this study, parole and reentry, we note an even greater pre-occupation with male felons. An excellent recent clinical study of a group of parolees, Paroled But Not Free by R. Erickson et al.,⁹ is based entirely on male subjects. The only book which extensively deals with the process of reentry for ex-inmates, The Felon by John Irwin,¹⁰ again relates only to men. Just as the prison experience has proved to be very different between sexes,¹¹ so we may expect the reentry course for ex-inmates to be significantly different for women as compared to men. This study will focus on the uniqueness of reentry as experienced by women in the American cultural setting.

In order to properly conceptualize the reentry experience I have pursued this study in an anthropological

⁸ Freda Adler, Sisters in Crime: The Rise of the New Female Criminal (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975)

⁹ R. J. Erickson et al., Paroled But Not Free (New York: Behavioral Publications, 1973)

¹⁰ John Irwin, The Felon (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970)

¹¹ Ward and Kassebaum.

theoretical setting in which the individual self is intimately related to that individual's society. The rehabilitative concern of facilitating people in a constructive reentry also is developed in terms of this polarity in which the individual is never considered apart from her social context. Pastoral care for the woman parolee thus goes beyond the pastoral counselor as it includes the whole Church as the "new community" of reconciliation and healing.

The outline of this dissertation seeks to develop these concepts in a progressive order and logical flow of presentation. Chapter I, "Women From Prison," presents a profile on women parolees. These data will provide the clinical picture of the target population. This chapter will specifically focus on the special characteristics of the female felon and her needs in distinction from the male felon. These facts relate to the kind of reentry services required and thus form the basis for the reentry program model proposed in this dissertation.

Chapter II, "Crime and Rehabilitation in Theological Context," develops the anthropological framework in which the reentry experience of women parolees will be analyzed. The existential picture of the self-in-the-world experience of female felons is of great significance in view of this study's holistic approach in pastoral care to the person in her total life experience. This theoretical context also provides the theological basis of the ecological

socialization-counseling-model in pastoral care as proposed in this dissertation.

Chapter III, "The Case of Bonnie Jones," is a case presentation of one woman parolee during the first year after her release from prison. This case study is designed to show an order and pattern of events in reentry over a prolonged period of time. Bonnie Jones thus provides a phenomenological illustration for a more generalized analysis in the last two chapters dealing with the developmental stages of the reentry experience in correlation with the progressive steps of the proposed reentry program.

Chapter IV, "The Promises and Pains of Reentry," presents a psychological analysis of the reentry experience in the general terms of its basic dynamics and developmental stages. Using Erikson's developmental concept of crisis to consider the reentry experience of female felons, this chapter emphasizes the growing edges of reentry by depicting the process steps of social integration and incorporation.

These chapters thus set the stage for the last chapter, Chapter V: "Toward a Reentry Ministry for Women Parolees." Here I present a "case study" of the establishment and emerging program-model of Crossroads. This model is conceptualized and developed in terms of the theoretical context of the previous chapters in order to arrive at the description of a pastoral counseling model in socialization through a community residential care center.

Chapter I

WOMEN IN PRISON

A. The Female Criminal

The "feminine mystique" which so often has blurred the identity of women in general is even more pronounced with respect to some women in particular. The female criminal is the woman where the "mystique" has become her special mark. "The Masked Character of Female Crime" is the title of the first chapter in Dr. Pollak's book, The Criminality of Women.¹

Ever since the medieval diagnostic textbook on witches, Malleus Maleficarum, an unbroken chain of human scientists and criminologists has claimed deceitfulness to be the one, outstanding characteristic not just of the witch or female crook but of the very essence of feminineness. Crime in women is thus only a matter of degree.

These stereotypes secured a quasi-scientific basis in psychoanalytic theory. Freud's account of psychosexual human development runs along separatist, sexist lines. When boys go through the "phallic" stage where the

¹Otto Pollak, The Criminality of Women (New York: Barnes, 1961)

prized possession of the penis is crucial, girls go through the "penis envy" syndrome where the traumatic absence of the penis, symbolized by the vaginal cavity as a gaping wound, becomes central. During this stage the Oedipus complex is to be resolved. Again the radical difference between the sexes is emphasized. While the boys face the fear of castration as a real threat, in girls castration has already become an accomplished fact. The motivation to overcome the Oedipus complex is thus severely limited in girls. Yet the resolution of this oedipal conflict is at the core of the formation of the person's superego.

Thus Freud concludes:

In these circumstances the formation of the superego must suffer; it cannot attain the strength and independence which give its cultured significance...that they (women) show less sense of justice than men, that they are less ready to submit to the great necessities of life, that they are more often influenced in their judgments by feelings of affection or hostility—all these would be amply accounted for by ² the modification in the formation of their superego.

The anatomical deficiency of the penis in girls thus leads to the moral deficiency inherent in a lack of justice, courage and reason.

Pursuing this anatomical determinism to further extremes, Pollak cites the built-in concealment of the

²Sigmund Freud, "Some psychological consequences of the anatomical distinction between the sexes," in his Collected Works, (London: Hogarth Press, 1948), p. 186ff.

woman in distinction from the up-frontness of the man:

...man must achieve an erection in order to perform the sex act and will not be able to hide his failure. His lack of positive emotion in the sexual sphere must become overt to the partner and pretense of sexual response is impossible for him, if it is lacking. Woman's body, however, permits such pretense to a certain degree and lack of orgasm does not prevent her ability to participate in the sex act.³

From this observation Pollak draws the conclusion that concealment and dishonesty is an intrinsic character pattern of women and specifically of female crime.

This prejudice has for a long time been predominant in the general interpretation of female crime.⁴ Statistically lower female crime levels are cited not as evidence that women are less criminally inclined than men but, rather, that women are more devious than men and thus are less detected by police and more protected in the courts. The special character and modus operandi of female crimes, such as the use of poison in homicide, the prostitute tricking, in more than one way, her customers, and the feminine monopoly on shoplifting ("boosting"), are quoted as further signs of confirmation of women's wiles.

Rather than arguing in terms of biologically determined fatal flaws in the female psyche, it makes more sense

³Pollak, p. 10.

⁴See Pollak for an "impressive array of criminologists who consider deceitfulness as the outstanding characteristic of female offenders." p. 9 and footnotes 2-6 on p. 14.

to account for the sex differential in crime on largely sociological grounds. Recent dramatic changes in female crime statistics at a time of a revolution in women's social aspirations and status indicate the direct correlation between a woman's place in society and her way of life, both legal and illegal, in that society.

It was Alfred Adler who first disputed Freud's biological determinism in the psychology of women. Rather than blaming the woman's body in and by itself, Adler emphasized that the social context defines the sex roles assigned to men and women. In the social context of Adler's (and Freud's) Viennese patriarchal society, women were considered inferior to men. Adler was well aware of the psychological impact of this institutionalized sexism on the life of both men and women. While Freud used psychology to explain and codify sexist cultural attitudes, Adler radically reversed the order by using culture to explain the psychology:

All our institutions, our traditional attitudes, our laws, our morals, our customs, give evidence of the fact that they are determined and maintained by privileged males for the glory of male domination. These institutions reach out into the very nurseries, and have a great influence upon the child's soul... It is a frequently overlooked fact that a girl comes into the world with a prejudice sounding in her ears which is designed only to rob her of her belief in her own value, to shatter her self-confidence and destroy her hope of ever doing anything worthwhile.⁵

⁵ Jean B. Miller (ed.) Psychoanalysis and Women (Baltimore: Penguin, 1974), pp. 40-1.

Even Pollak, with his emphasis on anatomy and innate psychological traits, could not help but also notice the pressure of Victorian social expectations:

In the development of every girl, there comes a time when her natural aggressions are inhibited and forced into concealed channels. She must not fight with boys anymore, she must not show them her interest in them, she must not take the active part in establishing an emotional relationship. Until recently, her chances of creating an independent existence for herself were severely limited and her economic future depended largely on getting a husband who would be able to support her, but she was not supposed to pursue one freely. Thus winning out in the struggle of emotions and also in the struggle for existence implied for women deceit, not as a deviation, but as a socially prescribed form of behavior.⁶

The critical significance of a person's social context has been established by the emergence and phenomenal growth of the social sciences in our modern period. Current feminist literature stresses the fact that

...the evidence is collecting that what a person does and who she believes herself to be, will in general be a function of what people around her expect her to be, and what the overall situation in which she is acting implies that she is. Compared to the influence of the social context within which a person lives, his or her history and "traits," as well as biological make-up, may simply be random variations, "noise" superimposed on the true signal which can predict behavior.⁷

Radical psychology regards sex-role differences, also as they relate to crime, not a matter of psychology

⁶Pollak, p. 11.

⁷Naomi Weisstein, "Psychology Constructs the Female: or, The Fantasy Life of the Male Psychologist," in P. Brown (ed.) Radical Psychology (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 395.

but of politics.⁸ The term "political" in such writings refers to aspects of a social system that center on power and power relationships. This is exactly where Alfred Adler, already more than half a century ago, placed the emphasis: on power. He pointed out that not biological drives but the psychological striving for superiority and perfection is central to personality dynamics and the social arrangements in society. Neurotic and manipulative power-plays accentuate basic feelings of insecurity and competition. This, Adler, maintains, is the basic reason for rigid sex-role categorization and utilization. Especially for women in the "weaker sex" role, manipulation takes on a sharp edge. As one woman, also an Adler, puts it:

Women have been presented as being childish, devious, indirect, petty, seductive, inappropriately domineering, and incomprehensively manipulative. It is not difficult to see that, aside from total submission, these are the only options available to the weak in dealing with the strong...It is not man's penis that a woman strives for but his power, and until recently the only way to achieve that has been through apparently paradoxical indirection. The phrase "she stoops to conquer," from the title of Oliver Goldsmith's play, perhaps sums up the method and madness of women.⁹

From this social and political perspective it is possible to account for the differences found between male

⁸ See Feminist writers who emphasize the political dimension, such as Kate Millett and Brownmiller.

⁹ Freda Adler, Sisters in Crime: The Rise of the New Female Criminal (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), p. 9.

and female criminals. Men's "superiority" in social status and achievement used to stand out in the number and in the seriousness of the crime committed by men as compared to women. In 1961 women comprised less than four percent of imprisoned adult felons in state and federal institutions.¹⁰ And those women prisoners were convicted of criminal offenses which differed greatly from those committed by their male fellow convicts.

During the sixties David A. Ward and Gene G. Kassebaum conducted a thorough study of women incarcerated at the California Institution for Women at Frontera, California.¹¹ In this study we find a comparison of Frontera inmates with men in a medium security prison in the same state.¹² The results are presented in the following table:¹³

¹⁰"Prisoners in State and Federal Institutions, 1961," National Prison Statistics, XXX (August 1962)

¹¹David A. Ward and Gene G. Kassebaum, Women's Prison: Sex and Social Structure (Chicago: Aldine, 1965)

¹²The Uniform Crime Reports published annually by F.B.I. provide tabulation of the distribution of arrests for twenty-seven different crimes by males and females in cities over 2500.

¹³Ward and Kassebaum, p. 60.

Figure 1
TYPE OF OFFENSES
FOR MALE AND FEMALE INMATES

Offense	Female	Male
Forgery & grand theft	43%	28%
Narcotics (sales & possession)	24	21
Burglary	5	23
Robbery	6	11
Murder	14	1
Assault	3	2
Sex offenses	-	5
Other*	5	9
	100%	100%
Frequency	819	972

*Others include arson, kidnapping, bigamy, extortion.

These figures show that women's main offenses are murder, forgery and bad check writing. Men's typical offenses are burglary, robbery and sexual behavior. It should be noted, however, that the usual sexual offense for women, prostitution, is not a felony but a misdemeanor and as such is not reflected in the above figures. Approximately equal proportions of each sex were convicted for narcotics use, sale and possession.

This sex distribution in crime categories provides an interesting parallel to the traditional sex-role differences in our society. It appears that the same kind of

sex-role differentiation in which women take a secondary, less aggressive stance applies to both criminal and non-criminal behavior. When women do get convicted for the masculine type of offenses, such as robbery and burglary, they often were found to have acted as accomplices to men.¹⁴

An exception to this observation seems to be the proportionately much higher incidence of murder among female inmates. A closer look at this category, however, shows that there is a significant sex difference in the kind of homicide which is involved. Men often commit murder in the course of a robbery or burglary. For women convicted of homicide, the murder victim was the husband or lover (in thirty-four percent of the cases), friend (twenty percent), or child (eighteen percent).¹⁵ Homicide in these cases thus appears to be mainly a crime of passion, in the immediate life-situation of the woman, rather than an aggressive, economically motivated offense.

The above data are based on a study of Frontera inmates during the sixties. The fact that female criminality is a concept mainly related to social roles rather than female psychology is underscored by the recent breakdown of boundaries between the so-called "masculine" and "feminine" offenses. Freda Adler has presented these

¹⁴Ward and Kassebaum, p. 61.

¹⁵Ward and Kassebaum, p. 62.

remarkable changes which took place in the seventies. She found that

By every indicator available, female criminals appear to be surpassing males in the rate of increase for almost every major crime. Although males continue to commit the greater absolute number of offenses, it is the women who are committing those same crimes at yearly rates of increase now running as high as six and seven times faster than males.¹⁶

Adler's thesis is that as the social status of women approaches that of men, so will the frequency and nature of their crimes. Crosscultural crime studies indicate that equality between the sexes is matched by equality in crime.¹⁷ As some criminologists¹⁸ indicate, this same principle applies to different ethnic or socio-economic groups within the same nation. For instance, black males and females are closer both in social standing and in crime rates.¹⁹

In support of her thesis Adler shows that in our present situation cultural determinants take precedence

¹⁶Adler, p. 15. On the basis of the Uniform Crime Reports on the number and causes of all arrests, Adler investigated a 12 year period between 1960-1972.

¹⁷Adler, p. 17.

¹⁸E. H. Sutherland and D. R. Cressy, Principles of Criminology (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1966), p. 139.

¹⁹See incarceration rates by race and sex, Inmates of Institutions, 1960 census--PC(2)--8A, 1963.

over biological givens. She notes

Of all the differences between the sexes, only four-size, strength, aggression, and dominance - have been implicated in any way with the overrepresentation of males in the criminal system. The first two are biological givens; the other two are largely, if not entirely, socially learned.²⁰

In the context of present cultural evolution, Adler further notes, size and strength between the sexes are discounted by technology and thus "social expectations and social roles, including criminal roles, tend increasingly to merge."²¹

The weight of these considerations is to serve as a caution against stereotyping the female criminal either as the "devious trickster," using her feminine charms and/or "weaker sex" image to mask her criminal activities, or as the "helpless victim" led astray by unscrupulous men or overcome by sad circumstances beyond her control. These romantic stereotypes do not take into account the highly complex, multivariable factors which in interrelationship make for female criminality. It has been stated that

There is perhaps no other category in society whose members differ so greatly in motive, in background, and in conduct as the "criminal class." The confirmed drunkard, the professional racketeer, the confidence

²⁰Adler, p. 43.

²¹Adler, p. 52. Note how Adler places primary significance upon technology in the change of social roles. It seems to me that the question of primacy is hard to determine: social change can be as much a causative factor in technological change as vice versa.

man, and the abortionist have remarkably little in common. It is absurd to speak of the "typical criminal," for he does not exist.²²

It is even more absurd to speak of the "typical female criminal," especially at a time in which women's cultural roles are in the process of flux and liberation.

B. The Female Felon

Even though we have already referred to female felons in the discussion of typically "feminine" offenses, we have defined the female criminal in the rather broad and inclusive terms of antisocial behavior. We narrow this definition when we consider the "female felon," i.e. the woman who has committed a felony,²³ has been caught and convicted, and has been punished by a prison term of one year or more. This new factor of conviction and imprisonment includes the role of society as another determinant, i.e. in its political choices of how to define, rate, and respond to deviant behavior. As one sociologist comments:

²²P. B. Horton & G. R. Leslie, The Sociology of Social Problems (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1960), p. 122.

²³A criminal offense is defined either as a misdemeanor or a felony. The distinction between these two reflects society's assessment of the seriousness of the crime. Felonies are more serious than misdemeanors and are punishable by prison terms of one year or more.

Convicted criminals are a sample drawn by a social mechanism from a much larger group of people who have violated criminal statutes. Even that much larger group is, in turn, a segment of a still larger group who have committed antisocial acts. What an antisocial act might be at a given time and place is, of course, a function of the society's evolving morals and of the class interests dominant in its moral structure.²⁴

In the preceding discussion of the female criminal we showed that stereotypes do not apply. Stereotypes, even though still inadequate and largely deceptive, are more applicable for convicted female criminals in prison. Although criminal behavior is equally represented among all segments in society, punishment by imprisonment is not. Criminal convictions are largely confined to what has been called "conventional crime," such as burglary, robbery and assault. There are the violent crimes which are male dominated and which are mainly committed by the poor and disadvantaged who lack the non-violent and more sophisticated options available to those who are more affluent and educated.

The prison population in America mainly consists of lower-class male individuals. The sociologist John Irwin has attempted to identify some main "criminal behavior systems." Based on a study of 116 male felons released from California prisons in 1966 Irwin classified his data according to such behavior systems and presented the

²⁴ Alfred McClung Lee (ed.) Principles of Sociology (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1955), p. 332.

following distribution:²⁵

Figure 2
CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR SYSTEMS

System	Percent
Thief (as a professional enterprise)	8
Hustler (a black man's system of theft)	7
Dope Fiend (opiate user)	13
Head ("psychedelic" user)	8
Disorganized Criminal	27
State-raised Youth	15
Lower-Class "Man"	6
Square John ("conventional" people)	16
TOTAL	99

The largest, and loosest, system is made up of the "disorganized criminals" who "pursue a chaotic, purposeless life, filled with unskilled, careless, and variegated criminal activity."²⁶ A major theme in the disorganized criminal's world is "doing wrong" or "fucking up" based on a deep sense of fate and hopelessness: "The disorganized criminal often believes that he is "born to lose," that he can't avoid "trouble," and that no matter how hard he tries,

²⁵ John Irwin, The Felon (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 7-35.

²⁶ Irwin, p. 24.

something will happen and things will go bad for him."²⁷
This kind of a person is easily drawn, often it appears compulsively driven, into situations of personal conflict and self-defeating attitudes which lead to breaking criminal statutes and/or parole stipulations.

This system of the "disorganized criminal" feeds into the more specialized and cohesive subsystems of, starting at the very bottom of the socio-economic scale and moving upwards, 1) state-raised youths, 2) dope fiends, 3) hustlers, 4) professional thieves, and 5) heads. The lower-class "man" constitutes really a non-criminal behavior system, yet the very fact of living in the context of poverty and limited self-fulfillment constitutes "a subculture of violence where assaultive acts and murders are relatively frequent."²⁸ On the other side of the scale is the "square john," a conventional person outside criminal behavior systems, who claims that only on account of a "mistake" or a serious "problem" he has been convicted of a felony.

What stands out in the above classification is the predominance of the lower-class orientation and the disorganized, purposeless character of the social existence of those who mainly constitute the prison population. The

²⁷Irwin, P. 25.

²⁸Irwin, p. 30.

important question for the scope of this present study is how to relate Irwin's classification, which is based on an entirely male sample, to the separate prison system for women.

We noted already the fact that women have been under-represented in the more aggressive and specialized acts of criminal behavior, which would apply to the categories of thief and hustler. However, as far as the use and sale of narcotics and other drugs is concerned we noted that equal proportions of each sex are involved. An important difference between male and female prison populations found in Ward and Kassebaum's study is the fact that women are arrested for the first time, and are sent to prison for the first time, at an older age than males.²⁹ The above observations would suggest that the majority of women felons thus are concentrated in the category of the "disorganized criminal," followed by a group of at least 20 percent committed on account of drug related cases. We might further postulate a number of "square Mary" types as counterparts to the "square John" category. The fact, however, that "it is a trait of Western culture to be more protective toward females"³⁰ would protect the "square

²⁹This would reduce the category of "state raised youth" among female inmates. See Ward and Kassebaum, p. 66.

³⁰Ward and Kassebaum, p. 67.

Mary" from being sent to prison for an unfortunate incident in an otherwise conventional life.

Most recent clinical evidence appears to support the fact that female prison inmates, even more so than the male prison population, mainly represent the lower-class, disorganized and anti-social elements of society. Ward and Kassebaum classified 832 women at Frontera according to different types of employment.³¹ The category of jobs most frequently held by female prisoners was waitress (305), followed by office (168), factory (163), and domestic (123) work. The more professional positions, on the other hand, were extremely low in representation: registered nurse (3), small business owner or manager (33), secretary (34). These figures confirm the lower-class background of the majority of women inmates.

Cloninger and Guze present some of the latest and most extensive clinical data in this respect. Rather than from a broad sociological perspective dealing with criminal social systems, these two studies are pursued from a more individualistic, pathology-oriented, psychiatric point of view. The study sample consisted of sixty-six female felons under supervision of the Missouri State Board of Probation and Parole during 1969. Based on the conventional procedure of the psychiatric-interview method, the authors

³¹Ward and Kassebaum, p. 77.

present the following diagnostic results:³²

Figure 3
PSYCHIATRIC DIAGNOSES

	Percent
Sociopathy	65
Alcoholism	47
Hysteria	41
Drug dependency	26
Homosexuality	14
Anxiety neurosis	11
Depression	6
Mental deficiency	6
Schizophrenia	1.5
Undiagnosed	12

The following two conclusions are of special interest for this present study:

- 1) "The prevalence rates for sociopathy, alcoholism and drug dependency are similar to those found among the male felons and thus indicate again that these disorders are significantly associated with criminality."³³ And,

³²C. R. Cloninger and S. B. Guze, "Psychiatric Illness and Female Criminality: The Role of Sociopathy and Hysteria in the Antisocial Woman," American Journal of Psychiatry CXXVII:3 (September 1970), 305. Note that the total exceeds 100 percent because in many cases more than one label was assigned to the same person.

³³Cloninger and Guze, p. 309.

- 2) "The prevalence of anxiety neurosis, depression, mild mental deficiency, and schizophrenia-as is true for the male criminals-probably does not differ greatly from general population rates."³⁴

These figures emphasize that criminal behavior is largely related to social and cultural patterns rather than intrapsychic disorders labelled as anxiety neurosis, depression, mental deficiency and schizophrenia. Sociopathic disorders are defined by the person's lack of social responsibility and inability to conform to prevailing social norms. An extreme example is present in anti-social or psychopathic personalities well described by Coleman:

Their outstanding characteristics are a marked lack of ethical or moral development and an inability to follow approved models of behavior. Basically, they are unsocialized and incapable of significant loyalty to other persons, groups or social values. Typically intelligent, spontaneous, and very likable on first acquaintance, they seem to live in a series of present moments, without consideration for the past or future and with callous₃₅ disregard for the rights and well-being of others.

It is necessary to understand that the sociopathic personality pattern, including alcoholism and other drug dependency, is not exclusively an individualistic psychopathology. Such an individualistic view is apparent in the popular concept of the "born criminal." Social

³⁴ Cloninger and Guze, p. 309.

³⁵ J. C. Coleman, Abnormal Psychology and Modern Life (4th ed.; Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman, 1950), p. 366.

deviancy, however, can only be understood in relation to social contexts. To quote Coleman again:

In the case of criminals who are biologically normal, personal pathology seems often to stem primarily from social pathology-as evidenced by the unusually high incidence of adult as well as juvenile offenses in the slums and ghettos of our large cities. In these areas there appears to be a gradual and progressive social disorganization that, in some ways, reverses the usual forms of socialization and social regulations. Values are in flux; there are widespread feelings of contempt for authority, and feelings of frustration and hostility are endemic. Under such conditions, aggressive and antisocial behavior may become the norm.³⁶

Cloninger and Guze in a follow-up article to the one already quoted, present data on the personal, familial, and social backgrounds of the same sixty-six women interviewed for diagnostic classification. These observations well emphasize the significance of social background factors in criminal behavior, and especially so in the case of female felons. The statistics relate a grim picture.³⁷

Family background

- permanent absence of at least one parent before the person was 18 years old: 65 percent
- incidence of mental disorders in family:
 - in fathers: 59 percent
 - in mothers: 76 percent
- antisocial behavior of father or surrogate:
 - heavy drinking: 53 percent
 - neglect of family: 29 percent
 - incarcerated: 20 percent
 - cruel or physically abusive: 12 percent

³⁶Coleman, p. 395.

³⁷C. R. Cloninger and S. B. Guze. "Female Criminals: Their Personal, Familial and Social Backgrounds," Archives of General Psychiatry, XXIII:6 (December 1970), 554-556.

Education

- levels of education of the 66 women:
 - 11 dropped out of elementary school
 - 8 completed eighth grade only
 - 29 dropped out of high school
 - 7 graduated from high school
 - 1 graduated from college
- failure to complete the last level of education entered: 76 percent
- expulsion or suspension from school: 33 percent

Marital history

- never married: 20 percent
- of those who had been married, divorce or separation: 83 percent

In conclusion the authors comment:

The severe social and familial pathological disturbances are striking! While similarly disturbed social and family settings characterize male felons, our impression is that the situation is worse for the women.³⁸

Female felons, in this description, appear to be a more pathetic group, characterized by more passive and victimized roles as compared to male felons. Cloninger and Guze found that sociopathy or hysteria was present in eighty percent of their sample and speculated:

The widely recognized observation that hysteria is predominately a disorder of women while sociopathy is predominantly a disorder of men offers the interesting possibility that, depending upon the sex of the individual, the same etiologic and pathogenetic factors may lead to different, although sometimes overlapping, clinical pictures.³⁹

Although recent statistics indicate a growing "women's

³⁸Cloninger and Guze, "Female...", p. 558.

³⁹Cloninger and Guze, "Psychiatric...", pp. 309-310.

movement" toward more active and aggressive roles also in criminal careers, this does not yet seem to have significantly changed the clinical profile of female felons over the last few years.

C. The Female Prison Experience

A woman's prison career starts with her arrest which signals a series of transfers to different places of confinement. From the city jail the person is soon transferred to the county jail. This initial period of incarceration is transitional in nature. It is a time of uncertainty and changes, being bussed to court for trial and sentencing, and visits from the lawyer to consider one's chances and options. It appears that many women are in a condition of shock and numbness. As one woman related to me her feelings during that first experience of being imprisoned:

Well, I don't really remember being afraid so much in there as much as the unknown feeling...you know, you just can't believe it's true...I don't think it really hits you...

Those women who have committed a felony are assigned to often overcrowded cell blocks at the county jail where they await their transfer to prison. At the county jail the emphasis is on security and custody. Women who enter jail for the first time, called the "new fish," listen to the old-timers in order to get prepared for what is in

store for them once they are transferred to prison. This can often be a frightening experience. As one "new fish" remembers that time:

I was hearing them talk about homosexuals 'cause I had never been around homosexuals and I had a very stereo-type-uh-idea about that, too, I guess. But I'd hear them say that if you don't know anything about homosexuality, you will by the time you get out of the joint. So, I had it pictured in my mind that you turn homosexual whether you wanted to or not. You know, you were going to be forced, into all this. So, when I first went to prison, 'cause we had a little hand basin in our room and everything, I took a bath in that room for a week because I was afraid to go into the shower. So, finally I thought well... I've been capable of taking care of myself with men for years so I didn't know why I had all this fear from a bunch of women. You know, but that was the thing that scared me the most.

The admission procedures mark the transition from the "free world" to prison. As such this procedure functions as a rite of passage as defined by Arnold Van Gennep who distinguished its three major phases: separation, transition and incorporation.⁴⁰ At first the aspect of separation stands out. This means an experience of loss and self-mortification. This comes out in the physical examination in which the woman, after being fingerprinted, has to strip in front of women officers and bend over for a rectal examination. When the woman arrives at the prison she is first processed through a lengthy process of classification at the Reception-Guidance Center, where she stays for

⁴⁰ Arnold Van Gennep, The Rites of Passage (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960)

ninety days for observation. Goffman critically describes this institutional process of admissions in terms of self-mortification:

Admission procedures might be called "trimming" or "programming" because in thus being squared away the new arrival allows himself to be shaped and coded into an object that can be fed into the administrative machinery of the establishment, to be worked on smoothly by routine operations.⁴¹

The Reception-Guidance Center forms the transitional period in which the person is prepared for incorporation into the prison routine. As Goffman rightly observes, the whole process of admissions can be characterized as "a leaving off and a taking on."⁴² First of all the new inmate has to die unto her old, "free world" identity. This is the stage of being stripped: physically and also emotionally and spiritually (psychological and psychiatric assessments and at the end, the inquisition setting of an appearance before the Classification Board).

At the Reception-Guidance Center the first group formations begin to take place to counter the separation

⁴¹Erving Goffman, Asylums (Garden City: Doubleday, 1961), p. 16. The official description of the classification process at the Reception-Guidance Center sounds more humane: "A complete evaluation of the individual's past development, present needs and behavior, and his potential for the future. Use of this information in the better understanding of the inmate, in developing the individual's resources for rehabilitation..." (California, Inmate Classification Manual of the Department of Corrections, 1963, par. CL-II-00.)

⁴²Goffman, p. 18.

and uprootedness experience. As one woman recalls:

When you get to the California Institution for Women there are a lot of first termers. You try to find someone you can relate to. So it becomes kind of segregated in that the violators (of parole) stick together, younger kids stick together, your first termers kind of stick together. When you first go into this big reception center, they have these two big halls—one T.V. room and one card room. When you're walking around you go up and talk to somebody that you figure is about your age or something. When someone first came in they mainly wanted to know what they were there for. That was the big standard question: "What are you here for?"

While some women are getting connected with others in this fashion, other women, especially first termers, mainly experience their separation from their home:

I had never been this far away from everybody. I felt, because Frontera was so far from home, I felt as though I had lost everyone; I felt as though this place was the end of the world and it was so remote from everything and just the environment and the physical aspect of it itself—this threw me quite a bit and I had to write my family. I had to have mail all the time, you must reassure me that I am not alone. I knew I had to do the time, this didn't bother me too much, you know, it's there, I must do it. But you know, be there, let me know that there's somebody out there alive. I just felt as though I had dropped off the end of the world; this was my impression.⁴³

The actual prison experience can be considered essentially a continuation of the stripping process. Sykes' classical description of the "pains of imprisonment" is in terms of deprivation, i.e. in what is taken away from the person. People are sent to prison not to get punished there, but prison itself, by what it takes away

⁴³Ward and Kassebaum, pp. 4, 5.

from the person, is the punishment. Sykes further specifies deprivation in prison in the following way:⁴⁴

- 1) deprivation of liberty
By losing one's liberty the prisoner experiences the loss of the "status of a full-fledged, trusted member of society." The person is rejected by society and placed under moral condemnation.
- 2) deprivation of goods and services
- 3) deprivation of heterosexual relationships
- 4) deprivation of autonomy
- 5) deprivation of security.

Sykes' study is based on the inmate population of the New Jersey State Maximum Security Prison in 1954. This setting was all male prisoners and with its heavy emphasis on custodial concerns, a good example of a total institution, i.e. a single system of total power. Although all the deprivations mentioned apply to women inmates at Frontera, there are some important differences. At C.I.W. the deprivation of goods and services is not as severe as in Sykes'

⁴⁴Gresham M. Sykes, The Society of Captives (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 63ff. Much of this book can be applied to other kinds of "society of captives"-settings. Having worked for a year in a mental hospital I noticed the deprivation experiences of such a hospitalization. It concerned people who had lost their full status and place in life. Their inability to function in the outside world was the painful reason for coming into the hospital. It was not criminal but "sick" behavior which made them social outcasts. Hospitalization thus felt to many as the ultimate sign of failure. Moreover, hospitalization was not just the terminal in the social displacement process, but in and by itself represented a new displacement experience: the "patient" is plunged into a "new world" with different rules, a jargon of its own, a complicated schedule of activities and appointments, new people, some of them feared to be dangerous, confining and controlling institutional living arrangements and a revolution in new role expectations and new rules to live by.

study. Also there has been less danger of violence among female prisoners. On the other hand, Ward and Kassebaum rightly observe that:

There is one sense in which it seems warranted to view imprisonment as more severe for women than men. It is usually the case that women are regarded as more closely linked to the care and upbringing of children than are men. The separation of mother and child is countenanced only under extraordinary conditions.⁴⁵

The mother-child relationship can be enlarged so as to consider the usual role of the woman in her family. Talcott Parsons has defined the conventional female role as being expressive in distinction from the male role as being instrumental in function. The female expressive role assignment refers to concerns with the internal affairs of the primary social group system, i.e. the family, and deals with the maintenance of relations between the family members. This is in distinction from the male instrumental function which refers to the pragmatic concern for the relations between the family system and the outside world.⁴⁶

Studies indicate that many of the women incarcerated at Frontera have close family ties, both with their family of origin and their own family. Serapio R. Zalba has done

⁴⁵Ward and Kassebaum, p. 14.

⁴⁶Talcott Parsons and R. F. Bales, Family, Socialization and Interaction Process (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1955).

some significant research with respect to C.I.W. inmates in their relationships to their families.⁴⁷ His data show that in 1964 at Frontera fifty-nine percent of the women inmates had minor children and sixty-eight percent were mothers. Ward and Kassebaum found that the separation from home and family is the most severe deprivation to which most women at C.I.W. must adjust.⁴⁸ Forty-three percent of the women who had served less than six months at Frontera listed absence of home and family as the most difficult aspect of adjustment. This separation pain only slightly decreased with the passage of time in confinement. The absence of home and family was still listed first by forty-two percent of the women who had served six months to one year, and by thirty-eight percent of those women who had served one year or more. It is necessary to understand that the loss of home represents for many women in our society a deprivation, not just of one's family, but of one's personal role identity and self-esteem.

Some prison pains apply both to male and female inmates and are related to the system of institutionalization itself. In one of their questionnaires used at C.I.W. Ward and Kassebaum assessed inmates' attitudes and feelings

⁴⁷Serapio R. Zalba, Women Prisoners and Their Families (Los Angeles: Delmar, 1964)

⁴⁸Ward and Kassebaum, p. 16.

concerning the "most annoying thing about doing time here."

The following table shows the results:⁴⁹

Figure 4

INMATE RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:
"The most annoying thing about
doing time here..."

	Percent	Frequency
The "never knowing" system of the indeterminate sentencing laws	48	139
That you can't get a straight answer from a staff member without buck passing	17	49
Being treated by the staff as though you are a child	11	33
That the staff tries to give the impression that their judgment is infallible	5	14
New and inexperienced staff who try to be too friendly with inmates	3	8
Accusation about people being homosexual	1	3
Other	6	19
More than one answer	9	27
No answer: 1	100	292

These responses can be reduced to two main categories. The first two entries, the "never knowing" system and staff "buck passing," make up sixty-five percent and relate to the frustration of living in complete uncertainty. The second

⁴⁹Ward and Kassebaum, p. 22.

category, consisting of the next two entries, constitutes sixteen percent and relates to paternalism of the staff toward the inmate.

The frustration of uncertainty deprives the inmate of a stable frame of reference for her existence. The indeterminate sentence structure often means that the inmate is left hanging in suspense as to the length of her prison term.⁵⁰ This lends a sense of utter futility to the inmate's existence. A group of inmates expressed this feeling in rather absolutistic terms:

The total waste of time spent while here and the constant mental torture of never really knowing how long you'll be here. The indeterminate sentence structure gives you no peace of mind and absolutely nothing to work for...The total futility of this time is the most maddening thing to bear. You realize nothing but frustration from the beginning to the end of your confinement.⁵¹

Many inmates define "hard time" as "never knowing"- time.

As one woman was telling me about her appearances before the Parole Board:

You look forward to going to the Board, because I felt that my first time at the Board I would be able to tell my side of it. So I still thought I wouldn't do very long. But then when I went to the Board I got a six month postponement, which means that they didn't tell me how long I was going to be there-you know, they just postponed me-just like saying, "Well, we're not

⁵⁰ In 1976 a change came about when the Parole Board had to issue definite parole dates when reviewing inmate terms.

⁵¹ Ward and Kassebaum, p. 21.

going to talk about this for six months." Then, I got another six months postponement. So I did a lot of, what I figure, hard time: not knowing when you're going home, which I feel is the hardest.

In this same category of institutional uncertainty is the inaccessibility to staff members and the difficulties in getting a "straight answer" from them. The bureaucratic procedure for seeing staff people is for inmates to write a request form, a "blue slip," and wait for a "ducat," i.e. a set appointment with the person to be seen. This process takes three to four days, and, as many women complain, many blue slips are misplaced or disregarded and thus never acted upon.

The other main category relates to the paternalistic attitude of staff to the inmates. Sykes' term of "deprivation of autonomy" may well describe this particular prison pain:

Public humiliation, enforced respect and deference, the finality of authoritarian decisions, the demands for a specified course of conduct because, in the judgment of another, it is in the individual's best interest--all features of childhood's helplessness in the face of a superior adult world. Such things may be both irksome and disturbing for a child, especially if the child envisions himself as having outgrown such servitude. But for the adult who has escaped such helplessness with the passage of years, to be thrust back into childhood's helplessness is even more painful...⁵²

The institutional setting is, in Transactional Analysis terminology, an enforced Parent-Child interaction. This

⁵²Sykes, p. 76.

many inmates experiences as a personal insult. A woman well into her fifties, felt much bitterness on this score:

I felt a lot of times that they (staff) were insulting my intelligence-especially when the biggest majority of them weren't dry behind the ears themselves-boss you around, telling you couldn't do this or that. I had one that used to come up and say: "Now we are going to our room, because I was washing clothes when I wasn't supposed to be washing clothes or something. I told her that I was going to my room, I didn't know where she was going. You know, they talk to you like a child. That just ticked me off-don't treat me like a retarded three year old. I might be in the penitentiary, but I'm still an adult human being. But I think that some of them up there, that was their way of putting you in your place. They don't beat you with hoses, but they want to remind you every once in a while that they are boss and you are an inmate.

In a male-dominated cultural setting women have traditionally been cast into a "helpless-child" role, and this factor only further compounds the problem for those who are both women and inmates in the custodial setting of a total institution. These psychosocial prison pressures, being kept off balance by the "never knowing" system while simultaneously de-autonomized into a helpless-child role, are often experienced as an oppressive assault upon the self.

There are different ways in which female inmates respond to these prison pains and adapt to the prescribed inmate role.⁵³ Those who seem rather easily to adapt to

⁵³ Goffman speaks of different personal lines of inmate adaptation and distinguishes 1) "situational withdrawal,"

the inmate role are said to be doing "easy time." As one inmate discussed this concept:

That would be my definition of "easy time" - when you become institutionalized. You know, lot of girls join clubs, go to the shows, and you really think they are having a good time-but maybe inside they're not really doing that easy a time. However, the girls that have been in-and-out, in-and-out, then that may be a different type of doing time. In a lot of ways I think it becomes a way of life to some of them.

Those who resist the inmate's role can do so by way of open rebellion, resulting in countless discipline problems and official "write-ups," or more often, by an inward resistance cloaked by a token display of outward conformity. This is apparent in the following interview with an ex-inmate shortly after her release (Q=question; A=answer):

Q. Would you say that you did "hard time?"

A. Very hard. It seemed like I adjusted to it-but inside I never really did. But I do hard time anyway.

Q. How do you mean?

A. Well, I don't know how to explain it. I adjust easily when it's something that I have to do, but inside I'm still fighting it. Up there I do my time by working, and if I can keep my time full enough then I'm OK. But inside, I'm fighting them every minute.

2) the "intransigent line" by which the inmate intentionally challenges the institution by flagrantly refusing to cooperate with staff, 3) "colonization" by which a stable, relatively contented existence is built up out of the maximum satisfactions procurable within the institution, and 4) "conversion," where the person appears to take over the official or staff view of himself or herself and tries to act out the role of the perfect inmate. (See Goffman, pp.61-66. See also Irwin on prison-adaptive modes in male prisons, pp. 67-79).

Q. What were you fighting?

A. Well, you can learn an awful lot at that place, and I made up my mind that they weren't going to change me at all. At that time I was perfectly satisfied with myself just like I was, and I didn't want no changes, no how. So it was good that I fought them in that way-they weren't going to change me, they weren't going to brainwash me. I had to do things, you know, certain rules and regulations, but I went through the motions of doing them, but inside I hadn't accepted any of them.

Q. On the outside you were doing time, but you had made sure that they wouldn't get to you as a person?

A. I even told them that. Little by little they try to change you-every part of you-because I even had the Board tell me, because I stayed by myself so much and I worked, because that was my way of doing time, and because my cottage reports all said I was a lone, etc., that I was going to have to learn to accept that way of life. I told them that I wasn't going to accept that way of life, that I would adjust to it because I had to, but that I was not going to accept it. And they were telling me how I was going to have to go out and get into this club and that club and how I should do my time out there.

Q. You kind of resented them telling you how to do your time, and that this was necessary in order to get their favorable parole consideration. Was that the kind of pressure that you could feel?

A. Yeah-because most of the girls they told them they were giving them this year review, and during this time we want you to bring us a High School diploma, or we want you to learn a trade. They have to have something to substantiate or justify that year they're giving you. They just can't say, we're punishing you for a year. So with me, I had a trade, work was no problem, I had no write-ups-so they really couldn't tell me to bring anything back that I didn't take them to begin with. So, all this other stuff they felt was my problem: That I didn't accept things, which might be true, but to me that was no place to start accepting things. But they were telling me that that was what they wanted me to do. So maybe that's why

I got so many reviews, because I went merrily on my way doing my time my way. I thought they didn't have to be locked in this room at night, so they're not going to tell me what to do while I'm locked in.

Much sociological research has been conducted with respect to the different inmate-responses to these pains of imprisonment in terms of inmate social systems.⁵⁴ Such social systems can be seen as a direct response to the pains and uncertainties of prison life as they produce some stability and a frame of reference for conduct and expectations. As Ward and Kassebaum rightly observe: "Prisoners have no more wish than anyone else to live in an environment where the behavior of others is uncontrolled and unpredictable."⁵⁵

Studies of women's prisons indicate that female inmate social systems are radically different in role types and patterns from what has been observed in men's prisons.⁵⁶ Ward and Kessebaum state: "Unlike the male prisoner community, where individual needs may be met by supporting to one degree or another the tenets of the inmate code, the needs of female prisoners are most often met by another

⁵⁴See e.g. G. Sykes and Sheldon Messinger, "Inmate Social System," Social Science Research Council Pamphlet (March 1960)

⁵⁵Ward and Kessebaum, p. 31.

⁵⁶See also Rose Giallombard, Society of Women (New York: Wiley, 1966)

individual."⁵⁷ This comes out especially in the homosexual love affair which is extensively analyzed for the greater part of Ward and Kassebaum's study. They estimate that "about fifty percent of the inmates at Frontera are sexually involved at least once during their term of imprisonment."⁵⁸ It is significant to notice that female inmate homosexuality manifests itself primarily as psychological adaptation and defense mechanism, i.e. by way of an intimate personal relationship, in keeping with the "expressive" female cultural role, the person overcomes the depersonalization process of prison institutionalization. This has been very aptly expressed by Ward and Kassebaum:

A homosexual love affair may be viewed as an attempted compensation for the mortification of the self suffered during imprisonment. During a period when personal worth is most severely questioned, sexual involvement implies that the inmate is worth something, because another person cares about her and pays attention to her. Homosexuality also alleviates depersonalization. In prison, the inmate is stripped of identifying and distinctive qualities, capabilities and symbols until she comes to resemble all others

⁵⁷Ward and Kassebaum, p. 78.

⁵⁸Ward and Kassebaum, p. 92. Note that studies of male homosexuality in prison populations emphasize its power politics, and suggest a lower incidence of c. thirty percent. See Donald Clemmer, "Some Aspects of Sexual Behavior in The Prison Community," in Proceedings of the Eighty-Eighth Annual Congress of Correction of the American Correctional Association (Detroit: 1958), pp. 377-385.

around her, but through an intimate relationship she is again found personally distinctive. The process of status degradation is diverted as positive characteristics of the inmate are noticed by others. Normative guidance is provided for the new inmate. Anomie and the consequent anxiety about how to do time, how to get along, and how to get out is alleviated when a constant and trusted source of information and advice is available. The suitor provides this service; the homosexual relationship is the medium of exchange.⁵⁹

An inmate with a prison experience of seven years in different institutions commented to me on this same issue of the emotional benefits of a homosexual love affair in prison:

It's just having someone you can really be close to, someone you can really do everything with. For a lot of people, too, it's a feeling of acceptance while they're there, you know, that's one way. Ah you fuck around, you know. Yeah, it's really cool with a lot of people. Then a lot of people-I know a lot of your stud broads, that's their biggest trip. They've never been anybody anywhere else, but while they're there they have a name for themselves, big time daddy, or whatever. It's a big trip.

That female inmate homosexuality is primarily a functional relationship within the prison context is further confirmed by the fact that the majority of those who have engaged in homosexual relations while incarcerated return to heterosexual relations after their release.⁶⁰

There are alternative and/or complementary lines of prison adaptation in addition to the homosexual love affair. I often heard inmates remark: "You either do time or time

⁵⁹Ward and Kassebaum.

⁶⁰Ward and Kassebaum, pp. 198-201.

does you," and, "You either stay busy or lose your mind." There are several ways in which women inmates have attempted to find meaningful ways of "doing time." Of great significance are the social occasions for personal contact and group support. Some women profess to have "found themselves" in a vocational goal such as nursing, library science or counseling. Others dedicate themselves to a new cause which adds a new direction and meaning to their life, such as promoting prison reform, or a self-enrichment program through education.

Religion often offers ways of dealing with some of the shattering and depressing aspects of imprisonment. Cloninger & Guze in their study of sixty-six female criminals found that thirty-five women reported an interest in religion and, which is significant, in twenty-two of these women this religious orientation had begun after their conviction.⁶¹

There are many opportunities for religious activities at Frontera through the full-time presence of a Roman Catholic priest and a Protestant chaplain-supervisor whose ministry is augmented by an active Clinical Pastoral Education program which provides student-chaplains for individual placement at the various cottages.⁶² Also a

⁶¹Cloninger and Guze, "Female..," p. 556.

⁶²A Jewish chaplain comes in occasionally due to the interesting fact that hardly any members of the Jewish

rather large number of outside churches and other religious and/or sectarian groups have been admitted to the institution to provide additional group meetings and activities.

Of special interest is the question of religious conversions in prison. Recently there were press reports claiming "mounting evidence that a wave of spiritual revival is sweeping through the cells, reaching even some of the most notorious criminals."⁶³ Mentioned, among others, were three of the five members of the Manson clan, the former Black Panther revolutionary Eldridge Cleaver, Symbionese Liberation Army activist Clifford Jefferson (Death Row Jeff), Jack Roland Murphy (Murf the Surf), and famous Watergate prisoner Charles Colson.

While at C.I.W. I had opportunity to meet and witness Susan Atkins of the Manson "family" and one of the most outspoken radical prison converts. It was very apparent that her whole life was devoted not any longer to cult leader Charles M. Manson, who had claimed to be Jesus Christ, but to Jesus Christ as revealed in the New Testament. She appeared to live in an emotionally highly charged fervor of dedication to Jesus, similar to what is known among the "Jesus-people." She spent all her time in

community are represented in women prison populations. See again Cloninger and Guze, p. 556.

⁶³"Inmates Reborn: Conversions to Christ-a Prison Revival," Los Angeles Times (March 15, 1976)

Bible-reading, prayer and composing and singing religious songs. In one of her letters she wrote: "The hours I spend in Bible study and prayer each day strengthen me to meet the glares and gazes of those who are so skeptical, but who want what it is that has brought about a change in my life."⁶⁴ This newly found center in her life served both to undo the horrors of her past, and give her a new cause and mission in her present prison existence.

A Case Illustration

A forty-five year old woman, whom I will call Lisa, had been a very active and enthusiastic Christian believer to the point of having gone overseas, after a religious vision, for missionary service. Before she reached the age of thirty, she professed, she had "accepted Christ as my Savior and was baptized with water." A few years later she also experienced the "baptism with the Holy Spirit." She got "into trouble" when, in a sudden burst of anger, she killed her alcoholic husband in a family fight. In jail she slowly began to realize what she had done. As she recalled: At first she plunged into deep depressions, cried constantly and tried to take her own life. She said: "My life was over as far as I was concerned. I had done this terrible thing, my family was being brought into this-it just was the end." The big question that haunted her at that time was: "How can God forgive me?" When she transferred to Frontera she sought out the chaplain and found spiritual relief in "talking out a lot" and "confessing her sins." Soon Lisa associated with one of the religious groups, Campus Crusade for Christ, which in its "four spiritual laws" emphasizes the need for the surrender of our will to God's will, and Bible study as the means to know God's will. Although she had "always loved God" this emphasis on will became the new perspective from which the tragedy of the past could be understood and accepted and which gave

⁶⁴This letter was addressed to Carol Bekendam, one of the early and present members of the Board of Directors of Crossroads' halfway house. The same letter was also quoted in ibid.

hope for a new beginning. Lisa expressed this by saying: "Although I had given Him my life I had never given Him my will. I never studied the Bible. I never took time to study the Bible. I felt that loving God was all that was necessary. I just loved God. But I can't use this power of loving God without His Word."

It seems that this new perspective and perception (will versus love) had the impact of a new religious conversion in Lisa's life. On account of this new focus on the concept of the will, Lisa's life-history, which at first in her imprisonment had come apart ("My life was over as far as I was concerned"), now began to fit together again into a meaningful whole. William James, in a similar fashion, described the dynamics of religious conversion:

It makes a great difference to a man whether one set of his ideas, or another, be the centre of his energy; and it makes a great difference, as regards any set of ideas which he may possess, whether they become central or remain peripheral in him. To say that a man is "converted" means, in these terms, that religious ideas, previously peripheral in his consciousness, now take a central place, and that religious aims form the habitual centre of his energy...a new perception, a sudden emotional shock, or an occasion which lays bare the organic alteration, will make the whole fabric fall together; and then the centre of gravity sinks into an attitude more stable, for the new ideas that reach the centre in the rearrangement seem now to be locked there, and the new structure remains permanent.⁶⁵

The conversion of Malcolm X, when he was a prisoner, to the Muslim religion, which changed him from an illiterate, common hustler into a brilliantly articulate and dynamic leader of the Black Revolution, shows the momentous impact

⁶⁵William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience (New York: Mentor, 1961), p. 162-3.

of just one idea, if it makes sense of the shattered life experience of prison inmates. For Malcolm X the idea was phrased in one single sentence: "the white man is the devil." The converting power of these words is well expressed in Malcolm X's autobiography:

...among all Negroes the black convict is the most perfectly preconditioned to hear the words, "the white man is the devil."...Here is a black man caged behind bars, probably for years, put there by the white man. Usually the convict comes from among the bottom-of-the-pile Negroes, the Negroes who through their entire lives have been kicked about, treated like children-Negroes who never have met one white man who didn't either take something from them or do something to them. You let this caged-up black man start thinking the same way I did when I first heard Elijah Muhammad's teachings; let him start thinking now, with better breaks when he was young and ambitious he might have been a lawyer, a doctor, a scientist, anything. You let this caged-up black man start realizing, as I did, how from the first landing of the first slave ship, the millions of black men in America have been like sheep in a den of wolves. That's why black prisoners become Muslims so fast when Elijah Muhammad's teachings filter into their cages by way of other Muslim convicts. "The white man is the devil" is a perfect echo of that black convict's life-long experience.⁶⁶

Although I have seen and met quite a few women at Frontera who were seeking and, sometimes, finding in religion an answer to the pain of a shattered life and a broken self, I hardly feel that the extent of it was anywhere near to the reported "wave of spiritual revival...sweeping through the cells."

All of the different lines of prison adaptation

⁶⁶Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Grove Press, 1966), p. 183.

(work, education, emotional and social relationships, vocational goals, religious reorientation, etc.) are similar in the intention to insulate the inmate against the assaults of the prison existence upon the self. From a more negative line of approach there is the additional defense mechanism of psychological withdrawal by which the inmate evades the full impact of prison pains by the protective device of intentional emotional numbness. Many inmates told me that prison survival means not to show your feelings. Others have trained themselves in denying their feelings:

Cold and hard is what I feel inside
 Even my own heart I have denied
 Tears lost their meaning many years ago
 At one time it took little to make them flow
 Prison is what has made me feel this way
 Unemotional now is the way I'll stay.⁶⁷

Some similar feelings were explored in the following discussion with a new parolee who had just spent three "hard time" years at C.I.W. (P=parolee, C=counselor):

P. I've always felt that, while you are there, you are really just existing. You know, sometimes you get the feeling that there was nothing before and there is nothing after-like a limbo, or something. You know, you get up in the morning and go to work, you come home and go to bed. Guess you do that at home, in a way, but the aspects of the whole thing is different.

C. In a way, then, you didn't feel alive there?

⁶⁷ From a poem written by an anonymous C.I.W. inmate.

- P. No. Especially that thing of not knowing. To me it's an existence day-to-day, because you wake up in the morning, you're still breathing, so what do you do?
- C. Perhaps the only way to make it through prison is just living in some kind of suspended animation.
- P. My answer would be yes.
- C. You can't allow yourself to really be alive, to really feel. You have to kind of protect yourself by not living, by just doing things in an almost mechanical way.
- P. That's right.

Such are some of the many different and complementary adaptive attempts of maintaining the self against the psycho-social pressures of being in prison for women inmates.

D. The Female Inmate's Parole Orientation

The discussion of prison adaptation relates directly to the question of the inmate's parole orientation. As Goffman rightly observes, each line of adaptation represents "a way of managing the tension between the home world and the institutional world."⁶⁸

As a general rule it could be stated that the better a person is adjusted to prison life, i.e. the higher the degree of institutionalization, the less urgency is experienced with respect to the person's post-release orientation. That means that those who do "hard time" make

⁶⁸Goffman, p. 65.

their release the dominant concern and hope in life. For some inmates the thought of "going home" is of such emotional intensity that it is intentionally suppressed so as not to make the "hard time" of prison even harder. As one newly paroled woman remarked:

I used to trip on coming home and what was going to happen, but that was something else that I kind of blocked out of my mind. Because I knew how much time I had to do and how long I was going to be there, and the more I tripped on the free world the harder my time was. So I really just blocked it out of my mind till maybe January of this year-and then I said: "Wow, it's here already." And then I started making plans as far as coming out.

Yet, even for those who appear to do "easy time," the outside occupies an important dimension in their lives. They also know that one day they will face the radical change of being released from one world to a totally different world. Apart from different degrees of release motivation it can be stated for all inmates that:

At the level of public discourse, the outside is "where it's at"-where pleasures, activities, and commodities which are absent in prison exist in abundance. It is disgraceful, even if it is true, to admit that one prefers prison. Only lifers may openly turn their backs on the outside. All others must appear to desire release intensely.⁶⁹

The ambivalent nature of some of the inmates' feelings regarding their release was expressed in the following interview with a two-termmer on parole. This woman had experienced "hard times" both in and out of prison

⁶⁹Irwin, p. 86.

(Q=question, A=answer):

- Q. How important was the fact of knowing that you would be released? Were you tripping a lot on what you were going to do once you would be out?
- A. Oh yeah--Well, it's kind of a confused feeling. You've got all these things you plan-you know, I'm going to do this, and I'm going to do that. But then you also know that, in a way, there's nothing. So it's-even though--it's still an unknown feeling.
- Q. The future was not a thing you could easily escape to, because even the future didn't look that bright?
- A. No, it didn't.
- Q. I remember that I've talked to a lot of women up there and they would say: "If only I would be out of here, then I would be ok and have a good time."
- A. Well, I think that we all say that, because that's where we want to be-out! I would say that the biggest majority of them want to be out. What's that old saying about-the grass looking greener on the other side. So, you have a tendency to look at all the good things that happened when you were out there, but you forget all the hard times. Everybody wants to get out, out, out-but, I think you talk that way. But, when you're by yourself, you think about the other side. You know, I got to go out there and find a place to live, I got to find a job. In some ways, if you're realistic, that's when your problems really start.
- Q. That future is not just all that bright, but somewhere deep down people know that it's going to be a hassle again, and pretty scary-
- A. Well, I think that way. Now some girls may have a lot more self-confidence and know what they can do and can't do. So, it may change with people. My feelings-uh-I even said up there one time that I didn't know why I was so anxious to go out: I have a place to live here, enough to eat, a good job that I liked. Basically, I had no problems, no worries, nothing. So...

Q. So why be so itchy to lose all that?

A. I don't know. Just, maybe, that's just an instinct. No matter how good things are, you don't want to be confined. You want to feel that you have a right to come and go as you please, have a key to a door, and do the little things that I think you take for granted every day.

The stated goal of the rehabilitative prison model is that inmates in prison be prepared for living outside prison. Therefore a variety of constructive programs is offered at C.I.W., including both academic and vocational courses. Some limited therapy opportunities are present, such as various small groups, Alcoholics Anonymous and similar self-help groups, and some care (mostly through medication) for severely emotionally disturbed women at the Psychiatric Treatment Unit.

The question is how the goal of rehabilitation can be realized in the context of the custodial concerns of a total institution which deprives the inmate of her freedom and autonomy and stresses adherence to the institutionalized inmate role. Rehabilitation and custody are at cross purposes. Custody seeks to socialize the inmates to life in the institution rather than outside the institution.

In line with this ambivalent rehabilitation setting of prison institutionalization Irwin distinguishes between three adaptive styles:

1) "jailing"-This term applies to inmates who cut themselves off from the outside world and attempt constructing a life within prison.

2) "doing time"-This concept is defined as "The adaptation of those who still keep their commitment to the outside life and see prison as a suspension of that life but who do not want to make any significant changes in their life patterns."

3) "gleaning"-This course of action is described as "The adaptation made by those who, looking to their future life on the outside, try to effect changes in their life patterns and identities...In 'gleaning' one sets out to 'better himself' or 'improve himself' and takes advantage of the resources that exist in prison."⁷⁰

The vast majority of inmates appear to be "doing time." In a sample of one hundred and sixteen ex-prisoners Irwin found that only nineteen percent had followed a gleaning course in prison. This percentage appears to me to be higher at C.I.W. where many women are involved in constructive programs and profess an interest in improving

⁷⁰For these terms see Irwin, p. 68. Irwin concedes that this classification is not all-inclusive. However, my experiences in pre-release counseling at C.I.W. would support Irwin's thesis that "many prison careers fit very closely into one of these patterns, and the great majority can be classified roughly by one of these styles."

or finding themselves. At the same time there is some scepticism about the extent, sincerity and/or stability of inmates on a "self-improvement kick." I asked a self-professed "doing-time" inmate about fellow inmates who seem to be "gleaning" and about its prevalence on campus, in the following interview (Q=question, A=answer):

- A. No, I don't think it's a big thing for campus as a whole. I think it's more prevalent in Barneburg A (one of the cottages). Maybe that's because I have been there and it's more geared toward that, as you have to be taking college courses to live there. So I did hear a lot more along those lines, and I saw a lot of girls who were very sincere about their college courses that they are going to take. But a lot of girls play their con games to get out of the Institution and, if part of their stipulation, when they get their review, was, we want you to do this, or we want you to do that, well, you'll go ahead and do it. But my feeling on that was that maybe they're not totally sincere about what they are doing.
- Q. That's what I was wondering about-how deep this feeling is of people who really seem to be convinced that this time it's going to be different. People who have been taken out of their old environment, and have done and seen some new things, and, perhaps, have a new picture of the future.
- A. Well, you know, you have a lot of stories, I'm going to do this when I go home, I'm going to do that when I go home. You get so that you have a tendency to think it's a lot a bullshit. But then every once in a while you run into somebody who is very sincere and is trying real, real hard. So, it's a sad thing maybe, but I think the biggest part of it is a lot a bullshit.

A significant part of our work with Crossroads' half-way house ministry was to assist inmates in their parole planning. As such we had much contact with inmates who had a strong post-release orientation. The majority of them

appeared to belong in the "gleaning" category. They had made good use of available resources in prison. Many of them had finished high school while incarcerated and continued their education by taking college courses or learned a trade through vocational training programs or prison job assignments. Many of these women also had dissociated themselves from fellow inmates who were "messing up" and "not going anywhere." They also seemed to terminate contact with "old friends" on the outside and repopulate their social system with new people, such as the friends visiting through the M-2 community visiting program. These same inmates often had actively participated in groups and formed relationships with a helpful staff person who had showed interest in their future welfare. Board reports frequently indicated improvements in their general attitudes and social skills. Often there was a concern for a better outside appearance for the "straight world:" tattoo marks were removed, dental work and even face lifts were obtained in order to be more presentable at the time of their release.

Even some of the women who appear to be very unlikely candidates for rehabilitation at times show a strong motivation to do better, often with a specific goal orientation and parole plans.

A Case Illustration

This 43 year old black woman could be classified as a "disorganized criminal" type. She has been divorced once, presently separated from her second husband, and her common-law husband with whom she has lived for the

last nine years is her co-defendant and is an inmate at the California Institution for Men. Two of her three sons are in prison, one for life. The background history on the family indicates repeated failure, chaos, arrests, poverty, violence and the use of narcotics. This woman's education is grade ten. For the last few years there is an almost continuous record of illegal check writing-evaluated in her social history not just as an expression of financial need but of "rebelliousness against society" and the "desire to get away with something." These last years also show a gradual personal decline. The psychological evaluation states "mediocre adaptive capacity" and that she is "easily overcome by her own impulsivity." She is characterized as a "limited, emotionally restricted individual" with an I.Q. in the dull-normal range. While at C.I.W. this woman kept herself separate from others and concentrated on her work as nurses' aid at the prison hospital. She also followed some college extension courses. Her post-release motivation was strong as the following excerpt from a letter which she wrote indicates: "The main event of my life is making my mind up to earn a degree in some college. Study has always been with me, I'd say strongly so, whenever I would get this feeling of worthlessness. I tried school before marriage but dropped out because of lack of motivation. After five years of marriage there was a evening adult school of real estate. After failing the state examination I was discouraged with starting all over again. This left me no choice but to take odd jobs mostly with no future. One of these jobs was employment in a convalescent home and right away I made my mind up to study medicine. I admired the systems that doctors and nurses arranged as team work. Twice I can remember lives were saved...

While the majority of inmates may not show strong motivation to reform their lives, they all, almost without exception, have high hopes and aspirations for the future.⁷¹ But as has been noted: "This high level of aspiration suggests unrealistic expectations."⁷² It does mean, however,

⁷¹Rosemary J. Erickson et al., Paroled But Not Free (New York: Behavioral, 1973). See chapter 5, "High Hopes."

⁷²R. Erickson et al., p. 77.

that virtually all inmates contemplating their release profess assurance of success in their parole: "this time," they are "going to make it!"

Chapter II

CRIME AND REHABILITATION IN THEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Introduction

In this chapter I will explore the theological context in which the issues related to crime, and female crime in particular, are to be understood. The term, theological, is used here in a broad and anthropological sense of the word: as a critical reflection on human nature in the concrete and historical setting of society and the church.

The anthropological picture is thus developed in conjunction with a study of society as the context for human life. According to a systems point of view the human person can only be understood in terms of a living, social system which is reciprocal to the life of its members. This relational concept seems especially relevant for deviants, i.e., people who are basically characterized by their social dislocation and maladjustment.

The relational character of this theological analysis of crime can be best described in the terms of existential anthropology. Thus this chapter will consider the social and religious contexts of criminal life styles in an effort to better understand the particular modes in

which the criminal person may experience his or her "being-in-the-world."

This chapter is preparatory to the development of a reentry ministry of pastoral care for women parolees. Thus there is a "liberation" dimension to this theoretical discussion. Accordingly, it is not just an analysis of the status quo, but also presents an eschatological vision of what can and need be done in the attempt to grasp the new reality which the church confesses in Christ as Lord of life.

A. Towards a Definition of Crime

No simple definition of the crime phenomenon can be given when we consider its many variables and the complicated nature of their interrelationships. Different models of conceptualization have been employed as a means to describe and label the criminal. Irwin mentions four personality descriptions most often used in reporting criminal behavior.¹

1) Emotional Disturbance

This is the "sickness model" which Irwin identifies as by far the most frequently used. This perspective looks at the person as having "serious

¹John Irwin, The Felon (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 46-48.

emotional problems, conflicts, and/or pathological relationships with family members- father or mother - which lead to his engaging in aggressive, self-destructive, and/or society harmful behavior."

2) Moral Unworthiness

This is identified as the second most frequently used model. This view stresses the antisocial nature of the criminal's behavior: "Here the person is seen as an individual of low moral character who, though he is cognizant of right and wrong, follows his own self-interests at the expense of others."

3) Subculture Carrier

Here the person is considered normal and social with respect to his or her subcultural context but not in the norms of society at large. The person's crime thus is adherence to a sub-group considered delinquent by the main group.

4) Phenomenological Model

This model, as Irwin notes, is only rarely used. Here the person's acts are understood in terms of the life and world view of the person himself or herself, rather than evaluated from the point of view of the norms of society or, for that matter, any other outside perspective.

A fifth, important model which could be added to the four mentioned so far, is presented from the point of view of radical psychology. This approach is close to the phenomenological point of view in the sense that the individual is not judged in terms of a priori cultural norms to which the person is to conform. In fact, the very opposite is proclaimed: society is to conform to a priori claims of the human person. Social problems, thus, are primarily derived from criminal (i.e., dehumanizing) structures of society rather than caused by criminal structures of some people.

These two polar ends, the individual and social, give rise to two radically different definitions of what constitutes crime. First of all, there is the social perspective which defines crime as the result of oppressive structures of society. Wright states that "the pattern of crime in America is a product of the basic political choice to maintain the existing structure of wealth and power in this society."²

In more specific terms, the radical position criticizes capitalistic society for its production-consumption orientation which divides society into different and competitive classes of people. Crime in capitalistic

²Erik Olin Wright, The Politics of Punishment: A Critical Analysis of Prisons in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 4.

society becomes an expression of class structure. All classes are guilty of criminal behavior,³ but the options, as well as the severity of punishment, of crime are different. More concretely the lower classes have fewer options in crime, and their choices are often limited to crude and violent crimes. These are the crimes singled out for punishment and in this way the status quo of the basic structure of society is preserved. As proof the radical position points to the prison populations which, as was noted in the previous chapter with respect to female inmates, consist almost exclusively of minority and lower-class individuals.

At the other end of the polarity is the individualistic approach. Alfred Adler's Individual Psychology illustrates this particular perspective. Adler described crime not from the point of view of how society adjusts to the individual but from the opposite direction: the lack of social adjustment on the part of the individual. He simply defined crime as "an intentional injury of others for one's own advantage. Obviously, then, the problem concerns human beings in whom social interest (Gemeinschaftsgefühl) is not sufficiently developed."⁴

³Criminal behavior is generally defined in the purely functional and culturally determined sense of "breaking the law."

⁴Heinz L. and Rowena R. Ansbacher (eds.), The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 411.

Crime is a failure in solving the "problems of life," which for Adler are all related to social cooperation:

A criminal can cooperate only to a certain degree. When this degree is exhausted, he turns to crime. The exhaustion occurs when a problem is too difficult for him. All problems in our lives are social problems; and these can be solved only if we are interested in others.

We make three broad divisions in the problems of life. First let us take the problems of relationship to other men. Criminals (as we have seen) can sometimes have friends, but only among their own kind. They can form gangs and even show loyalty to one another. But they cannot make friends with society at large, with ordinary people. Criminals treat themselves as a body of exiles and do not understand how to feel at home with their fellow men.

The second group of problems is connected with occupation. A useful occupation implies an interest in other people and a contribution to their welfare; but this is exactly what we miss in the criminal personality. The great majority of criminals are untrained and unskilled workers. If you trace back their history you will find that at school and even before school there was a block here, a stoppage of interest.

The third group includes all the problems of love. A good and fruitful life calls equally for interest in the other person and for cooperation. It is revealing to observe that half the criminals who are sent to reformatories are suffering from venereal diseases. This would tend to show that they wanted an easy way out for the problems of love. They regard the partner in love merely as a piece of property, and very often they think that love can be bought. It is something they ought to possess, not a partnership in life.⁵

In this study I look at crime from a systems-perspective in which the social and individual factors are considered in their interrelatedness. The individual person is thus always dealt with in the context of his or

⁵Ibid., pp. 411, 412.

her "life and world" orientation. Crime indicates conflict and disruption between the individual and his or her world and the reality of the person's society.

Glasser's work with delinquent girls led to the development of his Reality Therapy in which the emphasis is on the person's responsibility with respect to the current realities of one's social environment. Glasser stresses the person's social context and defines pathology not in individualistic ways but in terms of the person's dislocation or displacement within the larger context of reality. Thus he states that the common characteristic of all sick people is that "they deny the reality of the world around them."⁶ People get well when they are aligned with and adjusted to reality and start functioning responsibly with regard to reality: "When they are able to give up denying the world and recognize that reality not only exists but that they must fulfill their needs within its framework."⁷ With respect to crime the criminal would thus be defined as a person who denies the "law and order" structure of reality and attempts to fulfill his or her needs outside the boundaries of acceptable behavior stipulated by society.

⁶William Glasser, Reality Therapy: A New Approach to Psychiatry (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 6.

⁷Ibid.

A serious shortcoming in Glasser's otherwise excellent emphasis on the human person not as a separate unit of existence but as constituted in holistic unity with the reality of one's world, is his failure in further defining that reality. The fact is that our world in its political and cultural expressions can be very "unreal." People like the Apostle Paul and Dietrich Bonhoeffer denied "the reality of the world around them." These socially displaced people wrote their "Letters and Papers from Prison"⁸ and expressed their inability to function in the fascist framework of, respectively, the first and twentieth century world. Today's dissidents like a Solzhenitsyn have been diagnosed insane by a purportedly sane society. While some of them have been (dis)placed in exile or in prison, others have been sent to asylums for (reality or unreality?) therapy that defines health in terms of the "adjustment" of the individual to his or her society.

Health and sickness are holistic concepts and with respect to crime we have to consider the person's integral relationship to his or her social system. This implies the possibility of either accepting or rejecting the established patterns of "law and order" of society. The radical position in rejecting conventional society does not advocate a social

⁸See Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Letters and Papers from Prison (London: SCM Press, 1953). For a more contemporary example see George Jackson's Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson (New York: Bantam, 1970).

vacuum but, rather, the very opposite: the presence of a more real and social society as a life context for people. In this sense the Apostle Paul and Bonhoeffer were idealistic radicals: sane people who chose social displacement rather than adjust to a mad society. These political prisoners acted not from a social vacuum but from a redemptive meaning matrix of another and new society. These men expressed an exceptionally strong social identification structure which maintained their personal strength and health.

Society, as it is, is not to be uncritically accepted as a positive factor in human existence. Erich Fromm rightly condemns the sociological relativism of the many social scientists who "postulate that each society is normal inasmuch as it functions, and that pathology can be defined only in terms of the individual's lack of adjustment to the ways of life in his society."⁹ I think that Fromm goes to the other extreme of defining mental health almost exclusively in terms of the adjustment of society to human needs. To quote from this same book: "Whether or not the individual is healthy, is primarily not an individual matter, but depends on the structure of his society."¹⁰

A more balanced position acknowledges both factors of individuality and social structure in polar tension, and

⁹ Erich Fromm, The Sane Society (Greenwich, CT: Fawcett, 1955), p. 21.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 71.

that the interrelationship of the human individual and his or her place in the world is the indication and criterion of either health or sickness.

Crime thus can hardly be considered a merely individualistic matter. In fact, there is impressive evidence to argue the very opposite: that the crime picture is predominantly conditioned by sociopolitical factors. The French sociologist Emil Durkheim studied the impact of the change of societal and kinship structures for those who moved from the village community to the big, industrial city of Paris at the turn of the century. He noted the increasing incidence of suicide and related this to the concept of anomie, i.e., normlessness on account of social displacement and unrootedness.¹¹

A similar historical development toward anomie can be demonstrated in American history as is the case in most industrialized nations. The Revolutionary period enjoyed a relatively low crime rate. Soon the cities started to grow and social mobility disrupted the old community life contexts. This trend rapidly accelerated with further industrialization. As crime rates increased, organized police forces and penitentionaries were created. It has been noted

¹¹Emile Durkheim, Suicide (New York: Free Press, 1951). On the basis of his study of thousands of cases of suicide Durkheim demonstrated the predominance of societal influences.

that "as community control weakened, institutional control increased."¹² Our current problem of crime has been directly related to the kind of society we are having:

America in the 1960's and 1970's has found it harder to respond to crime than America in the 1830's. Earlier, we dealt with the problem by creating new institutions--the police, the prison, the asylum, corporations, the mass political party, local self-government--through which to control dangerous impulses and channel constructive ones. Today there are virtually no institutions left to invent: crime increases in spite of police, prisons and public and private government. For a long time, and to our great disadvantage, we clung to the myth that there was a bureaucratic or governmental alternative to familial and communal virtue, that what parents, neighbors, and friends had failed to do, patrolmen, wardens, counsellors and psychiatrists could provide. We struggled to maintain the hope that the police and schools could prevent crime and that prisons and treatment programs could rehabilitate criminals.... The conditions of life in the innermost parts of many of our older cities have become, in Thomas Hobbes' phrase, "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." The near collapse of family structure and communal life in this area has created, for tens of thousands of people, especially young ones, a social catastrophe that the conventional institutions of a free society are, in the short run, powerless to correct.¹³

The systems perspective pursued in this study, stresses the organic interdependence and reciprocity between the social system and its members. In the previous chapter I described crime in Irving's categories of "criminal behavior systems." This description sees crime not so much as constituted by separate, individual acts but as collective

¹²James Q. Wilson in the bicentennial essay in Time (April 26, 1976) 84. See also his book Thinking about Crime (New York: Basic, 1975).

¹³Ibid.

expressions of subcultures which are in a conflict-relationship with conventional society. From this systems perspective I would define some of the different aspects of criminal behavior in the following ways:

First, some crimes appear to be predominantly an expression of system-deprivation. This is especially applicable to the "disorganized criminal" who lives in a social and spiritual atmosphere of anomie, i.e., normlessness and disconnectedness.

Secondly, crime can become mainly an expression of system-negation. This stands out in the behavior of anti-social persons who relate to the system in a purely irresponsible and impulsive fashion.

Thirdly, criminal conduct can result from severe systems-conflict, i.e., if the person's functional system-orientation is anti-establishment in character. This applies both to "criminal" subcultures and radical counter-cultures.

Of course, these three delineations in defining criminal behavior do not indicate mutually exclusive categories but, rather, point to the diversity and complexity of the self-society connection in crime.

From a philosophical-theological perspective we can consider more closely the nature of the individual human being in relation to his or her community. Paul Tillich in his description of basic ontological life structures,

speaks of the polarity of individuality and participation. This is the paradoxical truth that full individuality can only be attained by creative participation in community. Crime is an instance of alienation and conflict between the individual and his or her society. Both individual and social factors in inextricable interrelatedness are the variables which make for crime. Thus either exclusively individualistic or social definitions of crime are inadequate.

A relational understanding of human existence is prominent in some systems of theological thought. Theological anthropology rejects a neatly defined concept of human person as an independent and self-contained entity. As a compound term the words "theological anthropology" state the view that the human person does not stand alone but always in a relational context. More specifically, the human person's existential life space is coram Deo, i.e., always confronting God and others in a relation of mutual responsibility. Dysfunctional relationships between the self and social environments constitute a common pattern in crime. Self-theory offers a significant perspective for a better understanding of the crime phenomenon. It is the view that the individual's self-concept in inter-relationship with the contextual social situation shapes human behavior. It involves status inconsistency, self-esteem, self-concept, labels and stigma. Labels, which

are social roles assigned to a person, function as a type of "self-fulfilling prophecy." When the label is one of "offender" the person will be reinforced to act out this role in criminal behavior. Although this is a self-defeating role it does serve in providing a clear self-concept and thus is preferred to having no identity at all.¹⁴ In this way we see how dysfunctional family patterns, deprivation in social networks and political-cultural factors are of crucial significance in criminal role behavior.

Crime for the criminal person thus reflects an excessive preoccupation with and personal confinement to an inadequate self-concept which does not include wider social concerns. Thus self-interests are advanced at the expense of the community at large. Social interactions are guided by the principle of conflict and competition rather than cooperation. Thus we can speak of ethical irresponsibility on account of a restricted self-concept which excludes larger social realities. In this respect Glasser's and Adler's definitions of crime are appropriate as they stress reality denial and thus social irresponsibility.

For criminals this means a rigidity in their social roles and a severe limitation in their ability in making

¹⁴One of the methods developed by social scientists to measure a person's self-concept is the Twenty Statement Test (TST) as set up by Kuhn and McPartland. For an application of this test to felons see Erickson et al., ch 7.

creative adjustments to their environment. While the criminal's self-concept may function for a deviant or minority social structure, it fails in dealing with the wide spectrum of institutions of society at large. Liberation in this context means a social consciousness-raising; so as to rise above the confines of a criminal self-concept to a new freedom in social flexibility and mobility.

A specifically theological dimension in the relational contexts of human behavior is the person's intentionality with respect to his or her basic concerns in life. In the "spiritual structure of existence" the self transcends itself beyond the social level and objectively considers itself in the largest possible context, i.e., coram Deo. John B. Cobb describes the Christian mode of spiritual existence in the following way:

In its openness to the creative love of God, the self receives new possibilities for its own existence that point it away from itself toward wider horizons of interest. Through its openness to the responsive love of God, it receives assurance of its acceptance in spite of its sin, is freed from preoccupation with itself, and is enabled to turn to others with a disinterested concern for their welfare. The openness to God's love also enables the Christian to be sensitively responsive to the feelings of others. In all these ways spiritual existence, freed from self-preoccupation by openness to God, is peculiarly capable of reflecting the creative-responsive love of God in its relation to others.¹⁵

¹⁵ John B. Cobb, Jr., and David Ray Griffin, Process Theology: An Introductory Exposition (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), p. 94.

In this light criminal behavior shows up as a failure to transcend proximate concerns. The self is not liberated in love but confined to self-centered concerns in the context of competitive sociopolitical life structures. In the next section I will more specifically analyze the existential structure of different life styles especially in relation to criminal behavior systems.

B. An Existential Analysis of Criminal Life Styles

Existential anthropology emphasizes that the self cannot be isolated from its life context in the world. Often the self and the world in which the self operates, have been considered in a static subject versus object structure. The existential concern, however, is to focus on the dynamic, transactional unit of the "self-in-the-world experience."

This emphasis is basic to holistic personality theories in psychology. In the theory of Gestalt therapy, for instance, the self is the description of the interaction of organism-environment. The self, rather than having substance in and by itself, is a process of "contacts," moments of integration, between organism and its environment. In his book, Ego, Hunger and Aggression, Frederick Perls describes how the most relevant need (such as for food, sex, relief of pain, etc.,) becomes figure and organizes the behavior of a person to deal with that specific need situation. When that particular need is satisfied it

recedes into the background and the next now most important need makes for a new Gestalt. In a more popular later book Perls defined the self as the "I" -

The "I" is the foreground figure experience. It is the sum of all emerging needs, the clearing house for their satisfaction. It is the constancy factor within the relativity of inner and outer demands. It is the responsibility agent for whatever it identifies with... we recognize that "I" is not a static thing but a symbol for an identification function.¹⁶

Process Theology elaborates on this major emphasis in holistic psychology and existential anthropology. John B. Cobb frequently uses the existential hyphenated expression of the self-in-the-world experience:

Our existence is a being-in-the-world. There is no self apart from the world or world apart from the self, but the one reality of being-in-the-world. Our existence is not simply located in our bodies or our heads. The world belongs to it as it belongs to the world. With this too a Whiteheadian agrees, for an actual occasion cannot be abstracted from its actual world, nor an actual world from the occasion of which it is the actual world.¹⁷

Even though Whitehead linked himself with the tradition of Plato and early Christianity in emphasizing the uniqueness and dignity of the human soul, his metaphysical understanding of the soul is fully in line with modern, holistic concepts. He emphatically rejects dualistic splits in favor of one single kind of reality. In a very general sense that means that the human body cannot be

¹⁶Frederick S. Perls, In and Out The Garbage Pail (New York: Bantam, 1972) p. -15.

¹⁷Cobb and Griffin, p. 81.

sharply separated from its environment: "Our knowledge of the body places it as a complex unity of happenings with the larger field of nature."¹⁸ In a more specific sense it means that body and soul are not separate entities but share a basic unity in the experience of the self: "While we exist, body and soul are inescapable elements in our being, each with the full reality of our own immediate self."¹⁹

If the uniqueness of the human soul is not that it exists apart from and superior to the world and the body, in what way then does Whitehead maintain the soul's distinctiveness? Whitehead simply states: "The soul is nothing else than the succession of my occasions of experience, extending from birth to the present moment."²⁰ The soul is not a static substance, a separate entity, but a continuous sequence of moments in which the self has a conscious experience of the world. Thus Whitehead can say that "the world is in the soul."²¹

The soul has no life in and by itself. The uniqueness and greatness of the soul is not in itself but in its

¹⁸ Alfred North Whitehead, Modes of Thought (New York: Free Press, 1968), p. 161.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

almost infinite ability to experience the world. Cobb puts it strongly: "It (the soul) becomes only in receiving. The more it receives, the more it can become. Insofar as it is closed to its world, it impoverishes itself."²² The soul's greatness is that out of the multitude of experiences of the world it can synthesize a meaningful whole. This ability of the soul comes out in the Gestalt description of the self: "The self is the artist of life. It is only a small factor in the total organism/environment interaction, but it plays the crucial role of finding and making the meanings that we grow by."²³

This distinctiveness of the human soul is found in the presence of, what Whitehead calls, the presiding or dominant occasion,²⁴ which makes for a central point of coordination "so as to support a personal living society of high-grade occasions. This personal society is the man defined as a person. It is the soul of which Plato spoke."²⁵

The Whiteheadian concept of "presiding occasion" can be related to the traditional theological doctrine of

²² John B. Cobb, Jr., A Christian Natural Theology (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974), p. 54.

²³ Frederick S. Perls, et al., Gestalt Therapy (New York: Dell, 1951), p. 235.

²⁴ Alfred North Whitehead, Adventures of Ideas (New York: Free Press, 1967), especially pp. 205-6 on the groupings of occasions.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 208.

the presence of "God's image" in human beings. Relational theology rejects the scholastic notion of the Imago Dei as consisting of a number of divine gifts in the human person but, instead, emphasizes the dynamic quality of the human person in relationship to God and others. Thus the Imago Dei is not a static but relational concept, emphasizing not what the person has but is in relation to God and creation.

In view of the emphasis that the human person never acts in an existential vacuum but always in relation to an experienced world, we need to ask the further question of how the world is connected to human experience. In the history of philosophy one can distinguish between two schools of thought: one teaching that the human perceiver is totally passive in the act of experiencing the world, the other that each person, according to his or her own subjectivity, constructs a world which does not necessarily bear any relationship to a supposedly "objective" world out there."²⁶

Without getting caught in this philosophical

²⁶In his "reformed subjectivist principle" Alfred North Whitehead, Process And Reality (New York: Macmillan, 1967), p. 288 Whitehead attempts to "balance" Cartesian subjectivism by an objectivist principle as to the datum of experience. But the subjectivist principle is very much at the fore. As Sherburne remarks: "The same datum may be received in different subjects clothed in very different subjective forms." D. W. Sherburne, A Key To Whitehead's Process And Reality (New York: Macmillan, 1966), p. 245.)

either-or dilemma of a sensationalist versus subjectivistic controversy, we can assert that the human person always acts in reference to a certain "world and life"-view, a Lebensanschauung which determines the way the person experiences and relates to the world. There is no supposedly neutral way of experiencing and acting upon the world. This world is always a personal world, synthesized by the human self into a meaningful life structure.

It is the phenomenological approach which has emphasized this "personal" experience of the world. Each individual lives not in a detached, factual world but in an intensely personal, fictional world. Vaihinger's classic work Philosophy of 'As If'²⁷ (published in 1911 in Berlin, Germany) was an extremely important contribution for the understanding of the "self-in-the-world experience." It stated that the mind is not only passive in appropriating the world of experience, but also extremely active in assimilating this world and making it its own. As such each person is shaping his or her own individualized "fictional" world. This is not necessarily a handicap but often a necessary condition for human existence. This is especially true of the world considered from an ethical and spiritual perspective. To quote Vaihinger:

²⁷Hans Vaihinger, The Philosophy of 'As If': A System of the Theoreticak, Practical and Religious Fictions of Mankind (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1925).

The "as if" world, which is formed in this manner, the world of the "unreal" is just as important as the world of the so-called real or actual (in the ordinary sense of the word): indeed it is far more important for ethics and aesthetics. This aesthetic and ethical world of "as if," the world of the unreal, becomes finally for us a world of values.²⁸

Alfred Adler was deeply influenced by Vaihinger's thesis and further developed this theory in terms of human psychological defense devices and safeguard tendencies. As such Adler further articulated the human need of having a "fictional world" in which the person can orientate himself or herself in order not to be overwhelmed by the chaotic complexity of life:

The human mind shows an urge to capture into fixed forms through unreal assumptions, that is, fictions, that which is chaotic, always in flux, and incomprehensible. Serving this urge, the child quite generally uses a schema in order to act and to find his way. We proceed much the same way when we divide the earth by meridians and parallels, for only thus do we obtain fixed points²⁹ which we can bring into a relationship with one another.

That which cements this "fictional world" into a unified whole, according to Adler, is the individual's goal orientation which functions as the unifying principle of the personality and which gives meaning and consistency to the person's "style of life." This is the phenomenological concept of "intentionality." This term can be traced back to Husserl who spoke of intentionality in the classical

²⁸Ibid., p. xlvii.

²⁹Ansbacher, p. 96.

philosophic sense that denotes "meaning" and a "tendency toward something." Rollo May quotes Husserl's statement that "meaning is an intention of the mind," and further elaborates that:

The act and experience of consciousness itself is a continuous molding and remolding of our world, self related to objects and objects to self in inseparable ways, self participating in the world as well as observing it, neither pole of self or world being conceivable without the other.³⁰

May calls intentionality "the structure which gives meaning to experience." As such intentionality organizes the self and its world into a common and consistent life construct which can be best described as the person-who-is-behaving-with-intent-in-this-situation-now-and-knows-it."³¹

This intentionality structure of the "self-in-the-world experience" is of vital significance for our understanding of the crime phenomenon. Law-abiding behavior often expresses the middle-class intentionality structure which treasures "law and order" for the security and survival needs of the members of that socio-economic world. To claim intrinsic "rightness" for "law and order" morality becomes a relative matter when considered from the point

³⁰ Rollo May, Love and Will (New York, Dell, 1969), p. 221.

³¹ Donald H. Ford and Hugh B. Urban, Systems of Psychotherapy (New York: Wiley, 1963), p. 449.

of view of a lower class world, which citizens often experience the law as supportive of crimes committed against them: such as police brutality, intolerable working conditions, exploitation by unscrupulous ghetto landlords, etc. The question of crime and morality is well posed by the following passionate and articulate outburst of a former prisoner of the California Prison System:

Don't be telling me what is right. You talk that right jive, but where was you when my old man and the neighbors was teaching me how to steal and shoot dope? Where was you when me and my brothers and sisters was crazy and blind from hunger? Where was you when my mama was gambling away the welfare check? Where was you when the world was calling me a dirty nigger and a greasy Mexican and a poor white peckawood? Where was you when the cops was whipping me upside my head just because my skin was dark? Where was you when I was losing respect for your law and order? Where was you when Wrong was my salvation? I'll tell you where you was. You was clear across town-Y'know, over there living in them big, fine houses- talking that trash about right or wrong in my world. But check this out: There ain't no such thing as right or wrong in my world. Can you dig? Right or wrong is what a chump chooses to tell himself. And I choose to tell myself that stealing is right. I had a choice: to be a poor-assed, raggedy-ass mothafukker all my life or to go out into the streets and steal me some money so I could buy me a decent pair of shoes to wear, or shoot me some dope so I could forget about the rat-and-roach infested dump I live in. Yeah, I got a chip on my shoulder. But it didn't get there by itself.³²

³² Alfred Hassas as quoted in Eve Pell (ed.), Maximum Security (New York: Dutton, 1972), p. 2. See also the reflections of a reformed felon, Larry Baulch:

For quite a few years I myself vacillated between the extremes of what I call "criminal conformity," in which state I gave free rein to my criminal impulses and tendencies, law-abiding virtues proper to one of the "good" guys. It was not until the great crisis experience

Those who pursue a criminal life style do so because in their particular life condition it makes sense, even though from a purely ethical point of view they may well agree that it is wrong. In a very basic sense we can say that the "sin" of the criminal life style consists of the fact that the person is living in the context of an inadequate, distorted and ultimately self-defeating world and life view, often on account of negative social conditions and life structures. Crime often is not only a matter of what I have called "system-deprivation," but, in a larger sense, of "world-" or "reality"-deprivation. The person is living in and tenaciously holding on to an unreal, fictional self-concept in the setting of an unreal world. This is what Adler called the "dark side" of a fictional goal orientation:

of my third period of imprisonment in San Quentin, that I finally perceived the phoniness and incompleteness of these totally opposite types of behavior. I recognized-and to me this "seeing" was of a revelatory nature and was brought about through God's grace; it was miraculous-that true wholeness means integration of these adversary-opposites. To be complete is to recognize the virtue behind the vice of criminality; and the vice lurking behind the virtuous mask work by the good, law-abiding citizen. Then quoting his former San Quentin Chaplain Byron Eshelman - "Analysis shows that both the criminal and society are incomplete and lack awareness of their own condition. Both tend to assume that the annihilation of the other would solve their insecurities and destroy the anxieties that beset them. The true insight is that neither one nor the other is 'right' and both are in need of change" Larry Baulch, M - 2 Sponsors Office (Chino CA Unpublished paper) .

It brings a hostile, belligerent tendency into our life, robs us of the simplicity of our sensations, and continuously attempts to alienate us from reality by tempting us to violate it. Furthermore, anyone who formulates this goal of godlikeness as real and personal, who takes it literally, is soon forced to flee from real life—since it is a compromise—and to seek a life apart from real life, at best in art, but usually in pietism, neurosis, or crime.³³

Erich Fromm has attempted to integrate Freud's individualistic and biological characterology with a collective, sociocultural perspective. Thus he presents an existential analysis of the different kinds of a person's relatedness to the world in terms of assimilation and socialization. The process of assimilation refers to the way a person sees the external material world and the way of acquiring and assimilating this world of things. The process of socialization refers to the way a person relates to other people. The so-called "non-productive" character orientations are outlined in the following manner:³⁴

<u>Assimilation</u>	<u>Socialization</u>	
a) receiving	masochistic)	symbiosis
b) exploiting	sadistic)	
c) hoarding	destructive)	withdrawal
d) marketing	indifferent)	

The first two orientations, receiving and exploiting, are both oral in character. Such persons feel inadequate in

³³ Ansbacher and Ansbacher, p. 97.

³⁴ Erich Fromm, Man for Himself: An Inquiry into the Psychology of Ethics (Greenwich, CT: Fawcett, 1947), pp. 62-122.

themselves and expect their life and salvation from the outside world, the source of all good. This oral orientation is further distinguished between, 1) the receptive, i.e. the "sucking" dependency orientation, and 2) the exploiting, i.e. the "biting" and aggressively grabbing way of life in the world.

In a somewhat generalized fashion we can apply Fromm's character schema to the crime issue, as it relates to the way people relate themselves to the outside world of things and people. Both the "receiving" and the "exploiting" infantile ways of relating to and seeing the world, seem to stand out in criminal behavior. Conventional crime, as we have seen, is primarily identified with the disadvantaged, lower-class population. These are the people who have few marketable skills and thus little opportunity to share in the affluence of society. Yet their "intentionality-" structure is that happiness is the possession and consumption of things. This concept is enforced by the secular religion of a consumer-society; a religion constantly and faithfully proclaimed by the mass media. As Merton expressed the resulting social conflict in a by now classic article: "It is only when a system of cultural values extols virtually above all else certain common success goals for the population at large while the social structure rigorously restricts or

completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a considerable part of the same population that deviant behavior ensues on a large scale.³⁵

Fromm considers the "marketing orientation" not, like the other orientations, a human potentiality, but, rather, the characteristic orientation of capitalistic society. In such a society, according to Fromm's marxist critique, the profit motive has alienated people from their world, from other people, and even from their own sense of selfhood. The social milieu of the market place, the world of "its" to appropriate, manipulate and consume, sets the stage for the non-productive orientations of receiving, exploiting and hoarding. While the first two orientations are characteristic of criminal behavior, the "hoarding" orientation appears characteristic of the conservative, "law and order" mentality. Fromm describes "hoarding" in terms of the anal character, which emphasizes holding on to what one has and keeping things clean, in perfect order, and under constant control and protection against the dangers of intrusion by alien elements.

In this diagnostic setting of non-productive types of "self-in-the-world experience" we see the "sin" of criminal life styles in the context of social structures.

³⁵Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," American Sociological Review, xxx: 5 (October 1938).

"Salvation" is sought in a self-in-the-world experience of a mutually enriching mode of relatedness in all realms of human experience. Fromm propounds this salvation in the humanistic terms of "the productive orientation." This new life style is characterized by reasoning, loving, imagining and working.

The therapeutic methods which Fromm advocates in order to move from the decay syndrome to creative life would be twofold. First, from an individualistic perspective, he emphasizes the resources of psychoanalysis in order to disentangle the inadequate person from infantile fixations and help him or her grow to the maturity of full humanity. Secondly, and this is where the real emphasis is, society is admonished to use its determining social role in producing life contexts conducive to the development of the productive character orientation.

This overall perspective of the "self-in-the-world experience" is essential both for understanding and attempting to correct the problem of crime. We are dealing with people in either "productive" or "non-productive" interrelationships with the world determined by each individual's "intentionality" perspective. This phenomenological approach is not purely individualistic as it relates to societal structures which foster certain character types which, while allowing for individual

differences, yet display a common cultural basis.³⁶ This cultural perspective can be applied to society at large as well as to specific subcultures of a society. Social liberation means to enlarge one's world and life view from a narrow and often oppressive (sub)culture definition to a genuinely open system of thought and life contexts responsive to human growth potential. I have used the term system-deprivation in reference to primary support systems for the self. With regard to the "self-in-the-world experience" and crime, we deal with the broader concept of culture-deprivation. Culture is not such a neutral concept as society as it emphasizes the intentionality structure which unites the culture and its members in a common bond of symbiotic interdependency, i.e. both parties' individual survival needs depend on each other.³⁷

Liberation theology emphasizes the need for social change and development, often of a radical and revolutionary nature, by which society is to conform to the eschatological vision of the Kingdom of God which is based on love and

³⁶In the book The Sane Society Erich Fromm deals with the "social character" which refers to "the nucleus of the character structure which is shared by most members of the same culture in contradistinction to the individual character in which people belonging to the same culture differ from each other." p. 46.

³⁷For a case illustration see Joel Aronoff, Psychological Needs and Cultural Systems, A Case Study (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1967)

justice. Liberation means not the freedom of the individual to live for his or her own "pursuit of happiness," but the freedom from self-interest to openness to others. Liberation is a relational concept which stresses a new community-communion with God and people-which creates a life-enhancing growth structure for all people. Liberation theology follows the marxist critique of capitalistic society in terms of alienation and exploitation, and points the way to a socialistic society in which individual fulfillment takes place in solidarity with all people.

But this is only one side of the self-society polarity. As one liberation theologian, Gustavo Gutierrez, acknowledges, "The scope of liberation on the collective and historical level does not always and satisfactorily include psychological liberation."³⁸ He further quotes David Cooper's remarks with respect to this blind spot in the "liberation" vision:

It seems to me that a cardinal failure of all past revolutions has been the dissociation of liberation on the mass social level, i.e. liberation of whole classes in economic and political terms, and liberation on the level of the individual and the concrete groups in which he is directly engaged. If we are to talk of revolution today, our talk will be meaningless unless we effect some union between the macro-social and micro-social, and between "inner reality" and "outer reality."³⁹

³⁸ Gustavo Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1973), p. 31.

³⁹ Gutierrez. See David Cooper (ed.) To Free a Generation: The Dialectics of Liberation (London: Collier, 1968), pp. 9-10.

The individual aspect of liberation deals with the question of how the individual chooses to actualize his or her life goals in the context of society. The next section in this chapter will more closely consider the ethical concern of this individual aspect of liberation as it considers criminal responsibility.

C. Individual Responsibility and Criminal Behavior

In the preceding material I have emphasized that the individual self does not passively react to the outside world. Rather, the self is eminently active in creatively putting together a fictional world which is consistent with the person's own self-concept and goal orientation.

This theoretical framework is in contrast to a more Freudian, objective psychology and in line with Adler's Individual Psychology. The Ansbachers contrast the anti-thesis by speaking of Adler's system as a psychology with a soul versus Freud's system as a psychology without a soul.⁴⁰ If we understand the "soul" in a non-substantialistic, functional sense we stress the primacy of the individual in determining his or her interaction with a particular world in terms of a personal goal and value orientation. Adler's emphasis on the creative, active ability of the self rises far above the outside factors of biology and culture.

⁴⁰ Ansbacher and Ansbacher, p. 4.

In one of his letters Adler wrote: "Do not forget the most important fact that not heredity and not environment are determining factors. Both are giving only the frame and the influences which are answered by the individual in regard to his styled creative power."⁴¹

The question of personal responsibility is of crucial significance when we consider the matter of social deviancy. As Pattison has shown, this question has often been polarized in the either-or fashion of the sin model versus the sickness model:⁴²

MODELS OF DEVIANCE

<u>The Sin Model</u>	<u>The Sickness Model</u>
1. Person chooses behavior.	1. Person does not choose behavior.
2. Person's status reflects prior good or bad choice.	2. Person's status does not reflect choice.
3. Physical or mental malfunction reflects prior bad choice.	3. Malfunction does not reflect choice.
4. Person is to blame for his status.	4. Person is not to blame for his status.
5. Person should be punished for bad choice.	5. Person not punished but helped.
6. Punishment will "heal" person by propitiation, making up, justice.	6. Punishment will not heal person.

⁴¹Ansbacher and Ansbacher, "Introduction". Note, however, that Adler at the same time maintains that the person's self-ideal as life goal can never be divorced from one's social context. Thus, his individual psychology has also been called a context or social psychology.

⁴²E. M. Pattison, "Concept of Homosexuality," Psychiatry, XXXVII (November 1974), 347.

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|---|--|
| 7. Person should be more responsible for himself, he has been negligent. | 7. Person should be less responsible for himself. |
| 8. Person has increased social responsibility. | 8. Person has less social responsibility. |
| 9. Person should help himself. | 9. Person cannot help himself. |
| 10. Society (others) has no responsibility to help person, it is his problem. | 10. Society (others) has responsibility to help the person, he cannot do it. |

As a better, third alternative Pattison suggests a systems model⁴³ which allows for the interdependency of the "self-in-the-world experience", and thus recognizes that a person's behavior and status is a reflection of multiple, interactive variables. This recognition also opens the way for a reality-and future-oriented approach to the social deviant rather than a basically past-oriented approach of blaming the alleged responsible agent, whether the deviant individual or society.

From a phenomenological point of view I have stated in the previous section that "those who pursue a criminal life style do so because in their particular life condition it makes sense, even though from a purely ethical point of view they may well agree that it is wrong."⁴⁴ Wright's radical approach holds that in the given structure of society most crime can be considered relatively rational, adaptive behavior. This is in line with other social

⁴³E. M. Pattison, "Concept...", Facetiously called an "Adaptive-Behavioral-Humanistic-Democratic Model."

⁴⁴Supra, p. 85.

scientists who see criminal behavior as a choice.⁴⁵ As

Wright comments:

To say this does not imply any hard notion of "free will." Rather, it implies that human behavior is "choosing behavior" which makes discriminations, weighs alternatives, evaluates consequences, and then makes a choice.⁴⁶

Wright also quotes the most extreme advocate of this position, the spokesman for anti-psychiatry, Thomas Szasz, who argues that there are no so-called insane, psychotic compulsions which drive people as helpless victims into criminal behavior: "...insofar as men are human beings, not machines, they always have some choice in how they act-hence, they are always responsible for their conduct. There is method in madness, no less than in sanity."⁴⁷

This concept is applied to social deviancy by the psychologist Silverman when he strongly reacts against a psychiatric definition of criminal behavior:

There is something very wrong-and perhaps unconstitutional as well- in thinking of all deviant or inconvenient or unfortunate or peculiar behavior as expression of illness. To allow health-and-illness thinking loose from its proper medical anchor may succeed in making the community an adjunct of the

⁴⁵See David Matza, Delinquency and Drift (New York: Wiley, 1964) and David Matza, Becoming Deviant (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1967)

⁴⁶Wright, pp. 10, 11.

⁴⁷Thomas Szasz, Law, Liberty and Psychiatry (New York: Collier, 1968), p. 135.

medical practitioner and in moving us nearer to the coming of the hospital state.⁴⁸

According to Silverman, the concept of personal responsibility is a necessary condition for human existence and social order. In line with Vaihinger's "as if" - philosophy he states:

It may be that this is a necessary illusion...or a convenient fiction held for the individual's well-being and for the well-being of the social group of which he is a part. Nevertheless, it is a useful and pragmatic fiction (Under normal conditions a person acts as if and feels as if he is a self-directing, self-willing individual who has freedom of choice and action. This subjective sense of self-control is an index of the efficiency of his functioning and an important psychological variable in itself).⁴⁹

Personal responsibility is not only an essential psychological and social variable - it stands out as a basic theological assumption for the human condition. The ethical structure of human existence can be described in Paul Tillich's terms of the ontological polarity of "destiny" and "freedom." Freedom is the experience of the "centered self" as it faces its environment. Destiny constitutes this environment of the self and thus is the situational context of human responsibility.

In crime the question of destiny is crucial on

⁴⁸Herbert Silverman, "Determinism, Choice, Responsibility and the Psychologist's Role as an Expert Witness," American Psychologist XXIIII: 1 (1969) 5-8

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 6.

account of the often massive weight of environmental circumstances which constitute the predispositions for criminal activity. Destiny, as Tillich points out, "includes the communities to which I belong, the past unremembered and remembered, the environment which has shaped me, the world which has made an impact on me."⁵⁰ We noted that studies of felons emphasize the "severe social and familial pathological disturbances,"⁵¹ and that these situational conditions are cited as major etiologic factors in crime.

Tillich, however, places destiny and freedom in polar correlation rather than contradiction. He emphasizes that human nature is characterized by freedom. Having a complete self and a world, the human person is "the only being who is free in the sense of deliberation, decision, and responsibility."⁵² Destiny, thus, never becomes a deterministic and fatalistic power which cancels human freedom. Destiny "points not to the opposite of freedom but rather to its conditions and limits."⁵³

In biblical religion the divine will is related to the human will in terms of God's covenant with his people

⁵⁰Paul Tillich, Systematic Theology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), I, 185.

⁵¹Supra, p. 29.

⁵²Tillich, I, 185.

⁵³Ibid.

Israel. While the Old Testament emphasizes the corporate personality of the whole community, the New Testament develops the concept of the responsibility of each individual in relation to God's will and further applies this in concrete terms in the realm of interpersonal relationships.

Yet, even in the Old Testament, the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel stress that individual responsibility may never be diminished on account of collective guilt. In the book of Ezekiel the prophet inveighs against the deterministic proverb, "the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge."⁵⁴ The collectivistic nature of guilt is not denied but the prophet condemns the people's linear causality-argumentation from the sins of the fathers. This logic renders God's judgments arbitrary and the people helpless victims. The biblical emphasis is, as Berkouwer succinctly puts it:

the irrefutable fact that communal guilt becomes manifested in the mode of one's own being guilty. From one's own personal guilt it is impossible to relativize God's justice or interpret it as arbitrary. Here we stand, I think, at the deepest point of reflection regarding all guilt.⁵⁵

⁵⁴Ezekiel 18:2.

⁵⁵G. C. Berkouwer, Dogmatische Studien: De Zonde (Kampen: Kok, 1960), II, p. 303. My Translation of: "het niet weerspreken feit, dat de gemeenschappelijke schuld manifest wordt in de modus van eigen schuldig-zijn. Vanuit de eigen schuld is het onmogelijk de gerechtigheid Gods te relativieren of als willekeurig te interpreteren. Hiermee staan we m.i. voor het diepste punt van de bezinning over aller schuld.

A similar linear causality-argumentation is present in the sickness model of social deviance by which the deviant's "sin" becomes a peccatum alienum i.e., the sin of parents, society, subculture groups, etc. Although one can make a philosophical distinction between collective solidarity in guilt and individual responsibility, the biblical witness denies the legitimacy of using this distinction as a distancing device with respect to one's own personal guilt and responsibility. According to Ezekiel's prophecy, the sin of the fathers is not transmitted to the children via a neutral zone, a vacuum, but through each participant's personal involvement of apostasy so as to leave the children without excuse.

In the New Testament the apostle Paul depicts the government as God's instrument of providence in maintaining social order and control: "he is God's servant for your good."⁵⁶ Thus the government is given the power to punish: "he does not bear the sword in vain; he is the servant of God to execute his wrath on the wrongdoer."⁵⁷

These words imply criminal responsibility. Yet, this responsibility is not to the authorities in and by themselves but to the authorities as "ministers of God."⁵⁸

⁵⁶Romans, 13:4

⁵⁷Romans, 13:4

⁵⁸Romans, 13:6

As Markus Barth exegetes Paul's ethical exhortations:

In Romans 13, as well as in Ephesians, striking examples of how to deal with myths, demons, and ghosts are put before our eyes. The entire New Testament is directed against the ancient and modern mythological imaginations and fears. Man is haunted by the demands which institutions, orders, authorities, rules, rumors, traditions, and laws make upon him. He gives them a religious halo...As to the institutions, powers, and principalities themselves, Paul acknowledges fully that they exist and raise claims. They have the "names" of "authorities, rules, and dominions." Indeed, they seem to have something religious about them, and they seem to be nearer to God than we are. Yet they are under Christ and under God (Eph. 1:20-22, 3:14-15). All of them "have been given One head," even Christ (Eph. 1:10). 59

Thus "freedom" in the "destiny"- context of one's psychosocial environment is to acknowledge Christ's supremacy and live unto him rather than under any other power structures. Earlier I have described criminal behavior as a failure in transcending temporal and proximate concerns. In Paul's terms it is the sway of idols which confine and control the self by the "authorities, rules, and dominions" of competitive sociopolitical structures.⁶⁰

⁵⁹Markus Barth, The Broken Wall: A Study of the Epistle to the Ephesians (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1959), pp. 228, 229.

⁶⁰While "law-abiding" citizens can also be subject to these same "authorities, rules, and dominions," their bondage is expressed by a selective cooperation with those laws which are protective of their own self-interests and conservative of their privileged position in the social order. Law-breaking and law-abiding behavior often reflects differences in socioeconomic status and thus a difference in available options in solving, what Adler called, "the problems of life."

The demonic domination by "authorities, rules, and dominions" raises the theological and psychological issue of the bondage of the will. I have emphasized human intentionality in the "freedom" - context of deliberation and choice. Yet, the history of the troublesome relationship between psychiatry and the law is indicative of how intentionality is always conditioned by the circumstances of the "destiny" - context of the person's psychosocial world.⁶¹

In English justice there are two components to every crime: 1) the act itself, and 2) mens rea, i.e. the intention. With respect to this intentionality structure inherent in all human behavior, people, and these were pre-Freudian times, knew about compulsive and unconscious motivation and attempted to find criteria by which to distinguish between "sane" and "insane" behavior.

The first Court case which made history in this respect was the famous M'Naghten trial in 1843 in England. This man, obviously deranged in compulsive paranoia, assassinated the vice prime minister. He was acquitted by reason of insanity, based on the so-called "right-wrong" test. For acquittal under this test the defense must prove that the party "was laboring under such a defect of reason from disease of the mind as not to know the nature and

⁶¹See W. Overholzer, "Major Principles of Forensic Psychiatry," in S. Arieti (ed.) American Handbook of psychiatry (New York: Basic, 1959), II, from which the following discussion is also drawn.

quality of the act he was doing or if he did know it that he did not know he was doing wrong." This "test" has been accepted in virtually all the states in America. The common criticism raised against it was that this criterion is exclusively cognitive. As such some states have added another criterion which acknowledges the emotional factor-the so-called "irresistible impulse doctrine," which was first cited in Ohio in 1834.

The next Court case of significance in this respect took place in 1956 in the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia relating to the Durham case. Judge David C. Bazelon, who had had personal and positive experiences with psychoanalysis, broadened the basis for the insanity defense considerably by the Court ruling that "an accused is not criminally responsible if his unlawful act was the product of mental disease or mental defect." In a further refinement the Model Penal Code of 1962-now essentially the rule in twenty states and most federal courts-bases the test on a defendant's lack of "substantial capacity either to appreciate the criminality of his conduct or to conform his conduct to the requirements of the law."

Karl Menninger in his book The Crime of Punishment devotes two chapters to the "cold war between lawyers and psychiatrists." Rightly so, Menninger directs attention to the different frames of reference which apply to the

legal and medical profession. While psychiatrists traditionally work with the medical model of linear causality, lawyers use a natural philosophy of personal responsibility.

To quote Menninger:

Lawyers are concerned with placing or rebutting blame for specific acts of deviant, prohibited behavior; psychiatrists are interested in correcting total patterns of behavior. Instead of seeking for the blame or the exculpation of an accused, doctors seek the etiology, the explanation, the underlying motives, and contributing facts in the commission of certain undesirable acts.⁶²

At this time a consensus begins to emerge which seeks to separate guilt findings from the disposition of

⁶²Karl Menninger, The Crime of Punishment (New York: Viking Press, 1969), p. 96. Note also how this inherent inconsistency between the perspectives of psychiatrists vs. lawyers came out in the dramatic trial of Patricia Hearst. While the defense psychiatrists stressed the "brainwashing" line, i.e. the etiological process leading to a foreign causal agent which rendered the defendant a helpless victim, the chief defense lawyer, F. Lee Bailey, as a lawyer stressed the "coercion" factor, i.e. that Patty Hearst chose participation in the bank robbery because it represented the only survival option available. Some experts wondered about the resulting "schizophrenic defense strategy." As Time (March 29, 1976) reported: "Complained psychiatrist Willard Gaylin, president of the Society, Ethics and Life Sciences Institute at Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y.: There was confusion between brainwashing and coercion. Coercion is when a person does something against his will because he is terrified. Brainwashing is when a person tries to become and will what somebody else is and wants. It was not clear what the defense wanted to say." "The prosecutor, U.S. Attorney James L. Browning, summed up his successful case in terms of intent. As Time reports in the quoted article: "What the case really boils down to, said Browning, is the matter of intent: Whether the defendant was in that bank voluntarily and whether she acted...with a general wilful criminal intent."

the case. This position was first proposed by Sheldon Glueck in 1936⁶³ and has steadily gained support. It states that the criminal Court should limit itself to the question of guilt or innocence and the disposition of the case should be placed in the hands of a panel of social scientists who should deal with the defendant with psychological understanding and rehabilitative concern. Such an approach would do away with the insanity defense altogether.⁶⁴

The proposal to divide the guilt question from the disposition of the case is important because it concerns the matter of the responsible self. Rather than getting trapped in the false dilemma of the sin model vs. the sickness model, the individual is held responsible as a free moral agent before the Court but the disposition, with understanding and compassion, takes account of the total picture of contextual psychosocial variables involved in the crime.

The history of crime and punishment shows a vacillation in social understanding, and thus response,

⁶³Sheldon Glueck, Crime and Justice (Boston: Little, Brown, 1936). This position is also defended by Karl Menninger.

⁶⁴But as Time reports:
No such law has been passed in any state, but a federal version has been passed. Unfortunately, it is part of a general overhaul of the federal criminal code, and complications with other parts of the proposal make it likely that the bill will die. Time (October 20, 1975), 57

with respect to the deviant. In primitive societies crime was often considered the work of evil spirits. Punishment came fast and was simple in its harshness - not so much on account of a desire to inflict punishment on the offender as an eagerness to get rid of the offender as the underlying cause of the displeasure of the gods. A good example is given in the biblical story of Jonah who was tossed into the roaring sea, not so much for personal punishment as to appease the outraged gods.

Later in the history of punishment the emphasis shifts to social revenge. The offender is considered a free moral agent who has willfully broken the laws of the community. The motive of punishment is retribution. The severity of punishment appears to depend on the level of the survival security of society. As Nietsche observed: "Whenever a community gains in power and pride, its penal code becomes more lenient, while the moment it is weakened or endangered the harsher methods of the past are revived."⁶⁵

The criminal courts became the vehicles of justice in civilized societies. Rather than "private justice,"

⁶⁵Friedrich Neitzsche, The Birth of Tragedy and The Genealogy of Morals in Roger W. Smith (ed.) (Garden City: Doubleday, 1971), p. 40. Note the present cry for more certain and severe sentences, re-instatement of capital punishment, in America at a time when the crime situation is getting out of control with the result of a mounting sense of national insecurity.

which often degenerated into personal revenge, public control takes over to fix a price for every offense and the court becomes the impartial third party to administer appropriate punishment. Public justice does, up to a point, diminish personal responsibility as it tends to objectify the offense, thus bringing about some alienation and dissociation between the offender and his or her offense.

During the last century in the Western world a profound change took place, moving from rehabilitation and preventive imprisonment. Nowhere more than in California has the rehabilitative prison model become the expression of a new and enlightened penology. In essence this can be characterized as a switch from the "sin model"⁶⁶ to the "sickness model." As one of the pioneers of the California treatment approach wrote: "We hope also that prisons are becoming more like hospitals."⁶⁷

The convicted criminal becomes a project not for revenge but for reform. Rather than fitting the crime, the sentence is to fit the convicted criminal. The sentence is no longer considered punishment but, rather, correction,

⁶⁶The "sin model" was expressed in a more humane way by the Quakers in Pennsylvania who placed criminals in solitary confinement, with the Bible and instructions to meditate and pray, so as to attain proper insight and penitence; hence, the name "penitentiary."

⁶⁷Dr. Norman Fenton, Treatment in Prison: How the Family Can Help (Sacramento: California Department of Corrections Publication, 1959), p. 7.

hence the name: Department of Corrections. The most significant tool of this humanitarian approach is the indeterminate sentence.⁶⁸ This means the replacement of a fixed sentence by a set of flexible boundaries providing a sentence with a maximum and minimum term. This allows for the prisoner's release to take place upon a successful "rehabilitation."

Even though we may well sympathize with the high humanitarian ideals of this position, it does have serious consequences with respect to the status of the prisoner. The inmate is involuntarily institutionalized as a patient who is under coercion to change.⁶⁹ Rehabilitation becomes a "big brother" control device. If the inmate refuses to change, or seems incapable of rehabilitation, he or she will not be released but remain incarcerated.

In California the Adult Authority constitutes the parole board which has the awesome power to keep or release prisoners. Board members are political appointees and often lack a proper background in the social sciences.

⁶⁸ In 1976 a new bill was passed in the California Legislature by which fixed sentences based upon the individual's crime and prior record become the rule. The only exception occurs in capital crime (first-degree murder) where the old indeterminate sentence of seven years to life remains.

⁶⁹ Note the earlier interview in which a former inmate expressed her antagonism against forced change: "I made up my mind that they were not going to change me at all" etc., *Supra*, p. 42.

Many of them express strong "law and order" sentiments and are not personally attuned to the rehabilitative prison philosophy. As such they are known to deliver stern lectures to the inmates, or require some signs of repentance or psychological reform. The psychological arm-twisting technique of this process cannot be easily exaggerated.

One woman inmate recounts her breakdown at one of her board appearances in the following interview:

- Q. Everything (of the board) is done in the name that it is your own good?
- A. Yeah...for my own good. I finally told them at the board that last time not to mess around with me anymore-just give me my time and leave me alone because they were not going to mess up my mind. I told they were not going to play with it, so they were just wasting their time. So if a person-I guess I'm a strong person in some ways--but if you happen not to be they could really mess up your thinking. Didn't help mine too much, but didn't hurt it any.
- Q. You felt it was really necessary for you to assert yourself and not let people make decisions as what is best for you-
- A. And when I did assert myself, and raise all kinds of fuss in the board room-which I can't understand and I talked with them afterwards-I acted like an idiot. I threw ash trays and they give me the three month review. After all of a sudden, after them playing with my life, I just had enough. So, I acted like-uh-something else, I went to rack Psychiatric Treatment Unit right from the board room, I made such a fuss. But I came out to the board the next day and I got a week's date to go home-because, I guess, I told them that day they had fooled around with my mind long enough and I wasn't going to take anymore. I told them afterwards, I can't understand you-I come in here and act like a human being, an adult woman trying to talk to you, and I get reviews. I act a little crazy, a lot crazy, and then I'm rehabilitated and ready to go home...

How the rehabilitative treatment program, with all its humanitarian idealism and rhetoric, still maintains a basically dehumanizing approach toward the inmate, has been well described in the book Struggle for Justice, in a chapter significantly entitled, "The Crime of Treatment." As the authors analyze the historical development:

The eighteenth-century humanitarian's attitude of reform through penance was replaced in the late nineteenth century by the attitude of cure through rehabilitation. In both attitudes the criminal is seen as an undesirable person, formerly a moral inferior, later a mental or emotional inferior. These attitudes were considered humanitarian because they viewed some criminals as redeemable.⁷⁰

On account of both failure of the rehabilitative prison and the fact that this model has been abused for totalitarian custodial control interests, reaching even beyond the prison walls through the parole system, there has been a growing momentum back to punishment as retribution and deterrence. As Newsweek assessed the mood of the nation in this respect:

Criminologists and politicians from all shades of the ideological spectrum increasingly agree that indeterminate sentences don't work and that the only fair way to treat a criminal is to make sure that he really goes to prison for a certain term-and that he knows in advance that he will...To achieve revenge and deterrence, a consensus is developing in favor of sentences in which the punishment fits the crime, not the criminal.⁷¹

⁷⁰ A report on Crime and Punishment prepared for the American Friends Service Committee (New York: Hill & Wang, 1971), pp. 84-5

⁷¹ Newsweek (April 26, 1976), 107.

A promising new trend in penology was heralded in Norval Morris' recent book, The Future of Imprisonment, in which he presents the outlines of a "voluntary prison," based on the results of three experimental institutions in England, Denmark and The Netherlands. Morris criticizes the totalitarian coercion practices in traditionally rehabilitative programs. Instead, he argues for fixed prison sentences with the understanding that the inmate while incarcerated retains a wide array of rehabilitative training and educational opportunities which, however, he or she may freely choose either to accept or not to accept.⁷²

This new approach recognizes the psychological foolishness of expecting change in compulsory helping programs and in the context of a negative avoidance relationship between jailer and jailed. More significantly, this approach emphasizes the inmate's own responsibility and choice. Especially from a theological point of view,

⁷²This concept is presently being carried out also in the U.S. in the new maximum security federal prison at Butner, N.C. As Time described this new prison in terms of "refining confinement:"

No gun towers, no cell blocks, no cavernous mess halls, no barred windows. At orientation, each inmate will be given a definite date for his release and be told that much of what he does until then will be up to him, but that nothing he does will get him out any earlier. His guards will wear blazers and slacks, and he can wear his own clothes or prison-supplied jumpsuits (in white, gold, orange or blue). Also to be issued to him: a key to his own cell. Time (May 17, 1976), 53

we noted, this is what makes the human person truly human: the ability not just to react but respond. To ignore the responsibility character of the human person, as evident in treatment approaches in the context of a total institution, means, in spite of all the underlying humanitarian assumptions, a grave disrespect for the humanity of the people involved. It represents a psychological reductionism of the human organism into a passive and purely reactive mechanism, as is evident in the sole and rigid application of behavior modification techniques to so-called "patient-inmates" in some U.S. prisons.

D. Rehabilitation as the Quest for a Place:
A Biblical Vision

In the previous section I emphasized the responsible self as the "freedom" and "intentionality" pole in the self-in-the-world experience of human existence. The other end of the polarity is the "destiny" side which deals with the biopsychosocial and religious life-contexts which make up the world in which the self operates.

The biblical anthropological picture consistently deals with the human soul not as a separate entity but in relation to its ecological life setting. The biblical account of sin and salvation can be interpreted as the story of the self's loss of and restoration to the place or setting to which the human self rightfully belongs. The inherent tension of human existence is the ambiguity

of this place being both with God and in the biopsychosocial world; a place both heavenly and earthly.

Starting with the story of creation we can notice the recurrent biblical theme that the human person needs a place in order to be human. In the creation week God first worked on a world, then the human person was created and placed in the garden in Eden. People were made after the garden was completed, i.e. after a proper place was prepared for them. This garden, a place of rich vegetation and interpersonal communion signified God's place for human life.

The subsequent account of the fall into sin is the story of the human choice of turning against God. The message is that by stepping away from God people lose their place in the garden. After the fall God calls to Adam: "Where are you?"⁷³ His place is gone. As Paul Tournier comments in an intriguing book on human places:

Adam hid himself. The place has already ceased to be paradise for him. His hiding-place among the trees was not his place, but an alibi. With his disobedience fear had entered his heart, and with it distrust, disturbing his relationship with God, as well as that with his wife and with his place. He had already begun to flee from place to place, seeking in vain his lost happiness and security.⁷⁴

⁷³Genesis 3:9

⁷⁴Paul Tournier, A Place For You: Psychology and Religion (London: SCM, 1968), p. 39.

The desert wilderness with its thorns and thistles becomes symbolic for human displacement. As the garden is the picture of having a place so the desert is the picture of having no place.

Sin is the story of human dislocation in life. More current philosophical and theological terms are alienation and estrangement. Paul Tillich consistently deals with the doctrine of sin in terms of the existential concept of estrangement and points to the biblical basis for such an understanding:

Estrangement is not a biblical term but is implied in most of the biblical descriptions of man's predicament. It is implied in the symbols of the expulsion from paradise, in the hostility between man and nature, in the deadly hostility of brother against brother, in the estrangement of nation from nation through the confusion of language, and in the continuous complaints of the prophets against their kings and people who turn to alien gods. Estrangement is implied in Paul's statement that man perverted the image of God into that of idols, in his classical description of "man against himself," in his vision of man's hostility against man as combined with his distorted desires. In all these interpretations of man's predicament, estrangement is implicitly asserted.⁷⁵

The biblical account of redemptive history tells the surprising story that God comes to the barren, "Godless" places of this sinful world. God's first visit takes place right after the fall. When Adam and Eve are found naked, God provided a covering by clothing them. As Bonhoeffer comments:

⁷⁵ Tillich, Systematic Theology II, 45-6.

The Creator is now the Preserver. The created world is now the fallen, preserved world. In the world between curse and promise, between tob and ra, good and evil, God deals with man in his own way. He made them garments, says the Bible. That means that God accepts men as they are, as fallen. He affirms them as fallen. He does not expose them before one another in their nakedness. He Himself covers them.⁷⁶

In the history of the Old Testament we see God's gracious provision of life-support places for continued human existence. We see this in God's visit to Abraham. Abraham has made his place in Haran but God calls him to another place: "Go from your country and your kindred and your father's house to the land that I will show you."⁷⁷ Abraham has to break national and blood ties for a place where God will meet him. In the land of Canaan "the Lord appeared to Abraham, and said, 'To your descendants I will give this land.' So he built there an altar to the Lord, who had appeared to him."⁷⁸

Another "immigrant story" is found in the account of Jacob's life. There is an important difference between Abraham and Jacob: Jacob does not choose to leave—he is forced to leave. It is not a leap of faith but rather an emergency escape. Not as a pilgrim but as a fugitive he leaves his country and his father's house. Yet God has set

⁷⁶Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Creation and Fall (New York: Macmillan, 1971), 88.

⁷⁷Genesis 12:1

⁷⁸Genesis 12:7

up a meeting place for Jacob: "He came to a certain place, and stayed there that night,"⁷⁹ and the next morning Jacob awoke from his sleep and said: "Surely the Lord is in this place; and I did not know it."⁸⁰ At that particular place Jacob dreamed "that there was a ladder set up on earth, and the top of it reached to heaven."⁸¹ Here is a place where heaven and earth make contact. God is on one end, above, and Jacob is on the other end, beneath. The link between them is the ladder of communion. This communion is expressed in heavy traffic going both ways: "the angels of God were ascending and descending on it."⁸² Human sin marks the end of relations (Jacob has to flee from his place and people on account of his faithless manipulations), but God's grace restores relations. Fleeing from his father's house, Jacob has entered "the house of God," i.e. Bethel. Jacob confesses: "How awesome is this place! This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven."⁸³ The Christological significance of this amazing and comprehensive story of redemption is worked out by the early church in John 1:51.

⁷⁹Genesis 28:1

⁸⁰Genesis 28:16

⁸¹Genesis 28:12

⁸²Genesis 28:12

⁸³Genesis 28:17

The most important "immigrant story," however, is not of the man Israel but of the people Israel. Israel lives in Egypt, which is not a place but a non-place. The Hebrews are slaves in a foreign land. The future of their national existence is cut off by Pharaoh's commandment of having their male children killed at birth. Egypt is not a life-support place but a place of death. God hears the cries of the people and sends Moses as their savior to bring them out of slavery in Egypt to the freedom of the land promised to Abraham. Israel travels from Egypt (the place of oppression) to Canaan (the place of liberation). Here is a return movement from the desert back to the garden: the land "flowing with milk and honey."

God, however, meets the people before they enter the promised land. Right in the desert is their meeting place at Mount Sinai. With God descending and Moses ascending the point of contact is established:

And Mount Sinai was wrapped in smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire; and the smoke of it went up like the smoke of a kiln, and the whole mountain quaked greatly. And as the sound of the trumpet grew louder and louder, Moses spoke, and God answered him in thunder. And the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai, to the top of the mountain; and the Lord called Moses to the top of the mountain, and Moses went up.⁸⁴

The "point of contact" at Sinai is found in the Covenant that is established between God and the people. It is not the static localization of God's presence in

⁸⁴Exodus 19:18-21

Mount Sinai, or in the "Tent of Meeting," or in the "ark."⁸⁵ The place where God and people meet cannot be localized in terms of mountains or holy places. The covenant is a dynamic concept of spiritual significance: a genuine "two way traffic" of hearing and obeying the words of the Lord. This points to the universal and spiritual element of the presence of God over against particularistic and institutionalized religion. To quote Tillich:

The relation of the God of Israel to his nation is based on a covenant. The covenant demands justice, namely, the keeping of the Commandments, and it threatens the violation of justice with rejection and destruction.⁸⁶

This dynamic interaction between God and his people comes to fulfillment in the Christ. As the apostolic witness attests: "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth; we have beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father."⁸⁷ The incarnation depicts the "two way" flow by which the Christ entered fully our human places—listening to catch every nuance of the existential human situation as well as speaking the Word of God. In traditional Christian theology often almost exclusive emphasis has been given to Christ as the revelation of God's Word, but as Bonhoeffer remarks:

⁸⁵ Note how I Samuel 4:3 shows "localized religion" by identifying God's presence with the ark.

⁸⁶ Tillich, Systematic Theology, I, 227.

⁸⁷ John 1:14

"It is God's love for us that he not only gives us his Word but also lends us his ear."⁸⁸

Jesus' baptism sets the stage for the beginning of Christ's public ministry. Here he steps into our place. The church confesses in Christ's baptism his descent into our death. When Christ emerges from the opening waters, the heavens open and we hear God's voice proclaim: "Thou art my Son, in thee I am well pleased"⁸⁹ and we see Jesus' head anointed by the descent of the heavenly Spirit "in bodily form like a dove."⁹⁰ Christ stands with his feet in our "watery grave" and his head touches the heavens. In Christ's baptism the church sees the whole death-life spectrum and a preview of Christ's entire ministry of death and resurrection.

If this baptism is considered Christ's inauguration service, the first activity of his public ministry is the temptation in the desert. The "first Adam" started in paradise and came to the desert. The "second Adam" starts in the desert and is on his way back to paradise. The desert is a non-place as it is a place of deprivation. In this setting the devil comes to present a place (of

⁸⁸Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Life Together (New York: Harper & Row, 1954), p. 97.

⁸⁹Luke 3:22

⁹⁰Luke 3:22

bread, all the kingdoms of the world and power). These temptations are seen as demonic as they prompt Christ to dedicate himself to idols and their pseudo-places. The Christ withstood these temptations by not leaving his place with God ("It is written").

After the physical desert Christ entered the existential desert of the social and religious outcasts (the sinner and the publican), and other displaced persons as the poor and sick. The Christ did not come for those who had a place but for those who had none: "Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick; I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."⁹¹ Christ's ministry expressed God's concern for the lost. The gospel is for the prodigal son who is starving in a foreign land rather than for the son who has never left his father's place.

Christ's ministry culminates in his own displacement. The cross presents the climax in Christ's identification with the displaced person. Golgotha is the place of utter deprivation and desolation. The place of Christ's suffering was "outside the gate,"⁹² away from the community. Losing contact with both heaven and earth the Christ descended into hell.

⁹¹Luke 5:31,32

⁹²Hebrews 13:12. The death on the cross meant to the Jew that the victim was placed outside God's covenant and people (Deuteronomy 21:23; Galatians 3:13).

The resurrection is the story of the Christ who has travelled through the desert of death and who triumphantly has reached the promised land. This is the reentry experience into paradise. This resurrection faith spells hope for every place on the existential spectrum. As such Christianity is not a religion of holy places but a thoroughly secular religion in the sense that no place is excluded from hope because he who, as the church confesses, "descended into hell" is the same who on the third day "rose again from the dead." With this faith believers can go non-places in defiance and say with the psalmist: "even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death I fear no evil for thou art with me."

"The "two way" movement of restored communion comes out best in the account of Christ's ascension which is correlated with the Spirit's descent. Christ's ascension, rather than creating a vacancy, is to create a place for us: "In my Father's house are many rooms; if it were not so, would I have told you I go to prepare a place for you?"⁹³ Christ assures his disciples: "I will not leave you desolate."⁹⁴ Christ's ascension is not moving away from from this world but, rather, is a sign of re-establishing contact between heaven and earth. In Christ's ascension

⁹³John 14:2

⁹⁴John 14:18

Jacob's ladder is erected and the flow of traffic begins as Christ in human, earthly flesh ascends and as the Spirit with Christ's heavenly power descends. It is exactly this two-way communion between heaven and earth, God and people, which constitutes a full place in life.

John Calvin presents in his Institutes a rich theological interpretation of Christ's ascension. In enumerating the benefits of the ascension for our faith Calvin mentions first of all.

that the Lord by his ascent to heaven opened the way into the Heavenly Kingdom which has been closed through Adam. Since he entered heaven in our flesh as if in our name, it follows, as the apostle says, that in a sense we⁹⁵ already "sit with God in the heavenly places in him."

This "heavenly place" is a place of reconciliation between God and the human person. In appearing before the Father's face Christ, our intercessor, catches God's eyes:

Thus he turns the Father's eyes to His own righteousness to avert his gaze from our sins. He so reconciles the Father's heart to us that by His intercession He prepares a way and access for us to the Father's throne. He fills with grace and kindness the throne that for miserable sinners would otherwise have been filled with dread.⁹⁶

But Calvin recognizes in Christ's ascension more than a sinful world returning to God. There is also the opposite direction of God's return to the world:

⁹⁵ John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), II, 16, p. 503

⁹⁶ Ibid.

When he ascended into heaven he led a captivity captive, and despoiling His enemies, He enriched His own people, and daily lavishes spiritual riches upon them. He therefore sits on high, transfusing us with His power, that He may quicken us to spiritual life, sanctify us by His Spirit, adorn His church with diverse gifts of His grace, keep it safe from all harm by His protection, restrain the raging enemies of His cross and of our salvation by the strength of His hand, and finally hold all power in heaven and on earth.⁹⁷

The church signifies the presence of the Spirit who came to fill the earthly vacancy left by Christ's ascension. The Spirit is sent by Christ to proclaim liberty from the "principalities" which oppress people in bondage and subject them to a life apart from God.

The church has noted the remarkable similarity, as well as some important differences, between God's descent to Israel at Mount Sinai and the Spirit's descent at Pentecost to the disciples in Jerusalem. At Mount Sinai God came down with fire and the people stood at a distance in holy fear, warned not to touch the mountain so as not to be consumed by fire. At Pentecost the Spirit also comes down in fire, not on a distant mountain top with the sound of thunder and the flashes of lightening, but flames of fire rested on each of the disciples' heads. As one hymn⁹⁸ puts it:

The fires, that rushed on Sinai down,
in sudden torrents dread,
Now gently light a glorious crown
on every head.

⁹⁷ Ibid., II, 16 p. 504

⁹⁸ By John Keble.

At Sinai God wrote down his covenant words on stone. At Pentecost the Spirit writes down the covenant words in the hearts of Christ's disciples who began to talk in other tongues "as the Spirit gave them utterance." The prophet Jeremiah compared these two covenants:

The time is coming, says the Lord,
that I will make a new covenant with Israel...
It will not be like the Covenant I made with their
forefathers
When I took them by the hand and led them out of Egypt...
But this is the Covenant which I will make with Israel
after those days...
I will set my law within them
and write it on their hearts.⁹⁹

The Apostle Paul proclaims this new spiritual presence of God in the Church by making this same comparison:

You are a letter that has come from Christ...
a letter written not with ink but with the Spirit of the
living God,
written not on stone tablets
but on the pages of the human heart.¹⁰⁰

This new presence of God by the Spirit of Christ is not confined to and localized in specific "holy places." Because of the incarnational scope of Christ's work, all our places of human existence are places of God's presence. This is a movement from the more particularistic Old Testament experience to the universalistic fullness of the age of the Spirit. Thus Paul tells gentiles in the church,

⁹⁹Jeremiah 31:31

¹⁰⁰II Corinthians 3:3

who once were "without God in the world"¹⁰¹ that now through the Spirit:

you are no longer strangers and sojourners, but you are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the cornerstone, in whom the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are built into it for a dwelling place of God in the Spirit.¹⁰²

The church becomes the body of Christ; a metaphor which points to an organic unity and place of communion: "For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body."¹⁰³ One of the most significant functions of the body is to provide a growth-support system for its members:

...we are to grow up in every way into him who is the head, into Christ, from whom the whole body, joined and knit together by every joint with which it is supplied, when each part is working properly makes bodily growth and upbuilds itself in love.¹⁰⁴

The church, however, is not just a life-support system for its own members. It is the body of Christ. That means that the church is governed by Christ's Spirit and as such the church is the continuation of Christ's

¹⁰¹Ephesians 2:12

¹⁰²Ephesians 2:19-22

¹⁰³I Corinthians 12:12, 13

¹⁰⁴Ephesians 4:15, 16

presence and mission in the world.¹⁰⁵ There is ambiguity in the church's life in the fact that it experiences both the absence and the presence of God. Participating in a fallen world the church senses the full impact of its existential estrangement by sharing in the "sufferings of this present time."¹⁰⁶ At the same time there is the participation in the reality of God's kingdom as manifested in the rule of Christ. This ambiguity can be expressed by the two-dimensional character of the life of the church:

- 1) the vertical, Christ's ascension direction which concentrates on the "heavenly places in Christ Jesus," and,
- 2) the horizontal, Spirit's descent direction to this world of the "here and now" places of human existence. In its ministry to a broken world the church preaches a gospel which demands faith and repentance. At the same time the church seeks to transform and heal the broken structures of this world in order to restore a place of communion. In this way the church erects symbolic fragments of new life structures which point to the Kingdom of God.

In this preliminary way the church finds its agenda among those who are dislocated from communion. With

¹⁰⁵Cf. Dodd: "It was not enough to say that Christ, being exalted to the right hand of God has 'poured forth' the Spirit. The presence of the Spirit receives, so to speak, an extension in the life of his body on earth." C.H.Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching (Chicago: Willet, Clark, 1937), p. 62

¹⁰⁶Romans 8:18

Christ's "heavenly place" of acceptance with God as its focal point of faith and hope, the church works in love to express Christ's presence in all the earthly places. The church is not just to point to the "heavenly places" but also as the body of Christ on earth has to "prepare a place" for the displaced here on earth.

It is interesting to note a significant historical example of this principle. While John Calvin was one of the strongest exponents of a "theological anthropology" and, as we saw, of the "heavenly places" of believers, he at the same time correlated this emphasis with his concern for "earthly places" as evident in the closely structured church community and solid life-supporting political structure in the city of Geneva. Especially with the arrival in Geneva of innumerable Protestant refugees, truly displaced persons, Calvin worked tirelessly for the vocational education of youth, retraining adults for new careers and the establishment of new industry. At the City Council he intervened for salary raises for the poor and state support for orphans. So strongly did he feel that a person's life depended on an adequate ecological life structure that he decried unemployment as a crime against humanity. Said he: "Is now work taken away? Behold, the life of man is thrown under."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ See Andre Bieler, The Social Humanism of Calvin (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1964), p. 45

In this way we can understand the biblical injunction to show hospitality to strangers, for thereby "some have entertained angels unawares."¹⁰⁸ Rather than ascending to the "heavenly places" the church is to go incarnational in solidarity with the "earthly places:" "Remember those who are in prison, as though in prison with them; and those who are ill-treated, since you also are in the body."¹⁰⁹ The ultimate place for believers is determined by the penultimate places which they provide for the displaced. Christ still identifies himself with the displaced persons here on earth. At the end of time he will say:

I was hungry and you gave me food,
 I was thirsty and you gave me drink,
 I was a stranger and you welcomed me,
 I was naked and you clothed me,
 I was sick and you visited me,
 I was in prison and you came to me.¹¹⁰

Pastoral care, then, can be described as the expression of God's ministry in Christ of preparing a place for those who have none. Salvation is in this sense "rehabilitation" as it represents the restoration of the individual to the life context of acceptance and renewal. Accordingly pastoral care cannot be separated from the task of the church as a structuring community which constructs for people a world of values and meanings. It is

¹⁰⁸ Hebrews 13:2

¹⁰⁹ Hebrews 13:3

¹¹⁰ Matthew 25:35-40

with this priority in mind that Browning states:

"Pastoral care must first be concerned to give a person a structure, a character, an identity, a religiocultural value system out of which to live."¹¹¹

"Caring" thus is in correlation with "being in place." This is the conclusion in Mayeroff's main thesis in his book On Caring:

In the context of a man's life, caring has a way of ordering his other values and activities around it. When this ordering is comprehensive, because of the inclusiveness of his carings, there is a basic stability in his life; he is "in place" in the world, instead of being out of place or merely drifting or endlessly seeking his place. Through caring for certain others, by serving them through caring, a man lives the meaning of his own life. In the sense in which a man can ever be said to be at home in the world, he is at home not through dominating, or explaining, or appreciating, but through caring and being cared.¹¹²

The Church's place in "preparing a place" for displaced persons will be the perspective in which we will consider the matter of a reentry ministry for women parolees.

¹¹¹Don S. Browning, The Moral Context of Pastoral Care (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), p. 103.

¹¹²Milton Mayeroff, On Caring (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 2.

E. Crime and Rehabilitation for Female Felons

This chapter has developed a theoretical framework of a theological anthropology regarding criminal life styles and thus provides the context in which more specifically female crime and rehabilitation is to be considered. In chapter I we noted some basic differences between male and female convicted criminals. It appeared that those differences were in line with the sex role differentiation in our society in which women are assigned a more subservient and helpless life position in contradistinction and in complementary relationship to the more dominant and aggressive male role. This sex role distinction would suggest that female felons would mainly fit the category of, to use again Fromm's terminology of character orientations, "the receptive orientation," while their male counterparts would be more representative of the aggressive "exploitative orientation."

This, indeed, is what we have seen in the clinical data. Male and female convicts have equal proportions in alcohol and drug abuse, indicative of the "receptive" orientation of "sucking" from the bottle or needle. Male offenses, however, are predominately "exploitative" in orientation: the "biting" and "grabbing" character of conventional crime is evident in armed robbery, assault, burglary, larceny and similar offenses. Female offenses appear to be mainly pathetic and more "helpless," and, if

classified in the "exploitative" category, women offenders often were in the "helper's" role.

In this chapter I mentioned the limited self-concept of felons in the context of deviant and/or minority social structures. With respect to female felons there is the additional factor of society's sex role label which further restricts and contaminates the person's self-concept. The present women's movement for liberating people from sexist self-concepts, applying both to women and men, has been credited for "liberating" women to commit "male" crimes.¹¹³ If indeed a causal relationship between feminism and crime can be established (the evidence can be interpreted in so many different ways that it appears inconclusive to me), the increase in female criminality would be the "dark side" of the women's movement. I am more convinced of the "bright side" of this liberation which, I think, would affect and reduce female crime in its present nature and size. This liberation would take place in terms of more flexible female self-concepts, i.e. a more androgynous self-in-the-world experience.

The sex boundary in society can be viewed in terms of the fictional points of orientation which, as I already

¹¹³For a report on a spirited debate among feminists concerning the question: "Is Feminism Linked to Rising Crime Rate?" Los Angeles Times (March 2, 1976).

referred to in terms of Alfred Adler's psychology, serve as a safeguarding tendency of the self against a complex and overwhelming world. As the Ansbachers comment, Adler here anticipated important later research on social prejudice.¹¹⁴ Rigid sex role differentiations are seen as manifestations of neurotic fear in dealing with the wholeness of life. Life as a whole is too threatening and consequently life is reduced¹¹⁵ and categorized into identifiable compartments. This neurotic tendency further arranges these separate compartments according to an antithetical rather than unitary schema. Adler saw sex discrimination as the predominant expression of a neurotic safeguarding mechanism in his own society. He saw the human striving for superiority, the will to power, in neurotic and oppressive distortion when life was classified along sexist opposites of inferior-below-feminine versus powerful-above-masculine. This sex polarization underlies what Adler termed the "masculine protest" which he considered basic to all compulsive, neurotic behavior:

¹¹⁴In one of these studies Gordon W. Allport concluded "beyond a doubt that prejudiced attitudes may serve as a psychological crutch for persons crippled in their encounters with life." Ansbacher and Ansbacher, p. 249.

¹¹⁵Note Tillich's definition of neurosis in terms of reductionism: "Neurosis is the way of avoiding nonbeing by avoiding being. In the neurotic state self-affirmation is not lacking; it can indeed be very strong and emphasized. But the self which is affirmed is a reduced one." Paul Tillich, The Courage To Be (Clinton, MA: Colonial Press, 1974), p. 66.

As the unconscious assumptions of the neurotic goal-striving (in male and female patients alike) we can regularly recognize the following two: 1) Human relations are under all circumstances a struggle for superiority. 2) The feminine sex is inferior and serves in its reaction as a measure of masculine strength.¹¹⁶

As our own culture has been and is changing, sex role differences have increasingly become more artificial and less functional. Modern political and technological changes have minimized the biological differences between the sexes. Sex role differentiation appears to be functional in direct proportion of primitivity of the cultures, as cross-cultural anthropological studies indicate:

With decreasing primitivization and increasing control over the environment, cultural role development grows more complex as population and resource requirements increase. As these cultural roles evolve, sex-linked characteristics become less dependent on the original biological relations; in order to serve increasingly complex need systems, an extension or elaboration of function occurs.¹¹⁷

In our society it is often noted that the present emphasis is on personal identity and meaning rather than on the functional instrumentality of sex and other social roles.

It may be due to the fact of cultural deprivation which predominates in the lives of female felons, that the great majority of them reject feminist views. The prison

¹¹⁶Ansbacher and Ansbacher, p. 250

¹¹⁷B. G. Rosenberg and Brian Sutton-Smith, Sex and Identity (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), p. 72.

administration further enforces sexist cultural role distinctions by offering a comprehensive and impressive array of vocational programs and assistance in the men's prison while severely limiting such programs in the women's institution to such traditionally feminine role expectations as reflected in the training in cosmetology, janitorial services, culinary arts, screenprinting, and a few more similar kind of programs.¹¹⁸

In July, 1976, some outspoken and articulate inmates of the California Institution for Women took a survey relating to the vocational needs at CIW.¹¹⁹ This survey was used for requesting new legislation which was to "provide a meaningful, continuous flow of training within the institution and into the community." This proposal well expresses the oppressive limitations which women felons face as they seek to prepare themselves for reentry into society:

Women at CIW reflect the women across the nation. As our conscience level is being raised we are becoming more aware of how ill prepared we are for the labor market. This problem is not unique to women at CIW. This problem plagues all women. We here, have the double burden of being felons. Our needs are more intense. We are aware in order to secure employment in an already over-crowded job market, we must be over-qualified, not under, and we are ill prepared with

¹¹⁸This observation is mainly based on a comparison between the men's institution at Chino, CA, and the women's institution just a few miles away at Frontera, CA.

¹¹⁹See Appendix I.

little or no job skills. We want to work, we want to support our families, we do not want to return to the Judicial System. Our only hope is to be initially trained and prepared within the institution, then to be able to use this training and gain some self-confidence by returning to the community in a Work-Release Program where we still have some supports.

Some of the specific complaints concerning the present programs at CIW were expressed as follows:

- The women at CIW are working at tasks which will in no way prepare them for the realities beyond these fences. The clerical jobs in the institution have lowered beyond their standards rather than upgrade them.
- The Vocational training now offered at CIW does not prepare the women to be self-supporting upon reentry into the community.
- The women are not motivated or encouraged by the programs that now exist. Lack of interest is contributed to the fact that the women are aware they are being trained for institution work and not for jobs in the community.
- The average time in the institution is 26 months. The majority of vocational trades being offered take one year to complete. That leaves a time period of approximately one year in which the woman stagnates.
- We should be allowed to participate in the vocational fields being offered in the California Institute for Men and the California Rehabilitation Center.

Women inmates thus experience also in prison the sex boundary. They see that men's institutions are in closer contact with the community and better prepare their inmates for reentry into society. Another interesting sex difference in prison is the fact that male inmates appear to be more "at home" in prison than their female counterparts. In the previous chapter I referred to the striking differences between the social inmate systems in men's and women's prisons. While male inmates find their "place" in

the institution through the "inmate code,"¹²⁰ female inmates try to establish their place through the attempts of the traditional female role in the family. Prison is thus, more than for men, a highly disruptive and displacing experience for women:

Men come to prison as husbands and fathers but more importantly as breadwinners - the principal determiners of the social status of the family. Their self-definitions give greater emphasis to their occupational roles.

...Women prisoners suffer more from separation from families and disruptions of familial roles. Women bring to prison with them identities and self-conceptions which are based principally on familial roles (fiances and girl friends). These differences reflect the diversion of labor in kinship systems which place on women the principal responsibilities of housekeeping and care of children.¹²¹

Often there are indications of strong guilt feelings related to the female inmate's separation from her family. With respect to parents many inmates feel that they have embarrassed and "let down" their families. Inmates talk about being the "black sheep" in the family and their desire and need to "do good" upon their release and thus "make up"

¹²⁰As Ward and Kassebaum describe the functions of the inmate social system:

The code provides a philosophy for doing time and the inmate social organization provides the mechanism for implementing the maxims of the code. In the code are rationalizations for criminal behavior, solutions for obtaining scarce goods and services, and descriptions of appropriate ways of dealing with the staff and fellow inmates. Ward and Kassebaum, p. 30.

¹²¹Ibid., p. 70.

and regain the "parental blessing." At times I have heard inmates blame themselves for their parents' troubles:

I'll always have the feeling that I let my mother down, and I'll always have the feeling that I really let my dad down-he died while I was here in prison . I don't think that it made my mother think any more or less of me. She always thought I was a little kooky anyhow. I have a lot of personal guilt because I feel it has made it very hard on my mother-like when she had that stroke and everything. I might always feel, just like with my father, that my going up here contributed to that. It may or may not have, but that's the feeling I have.

Thus we can understand how many women strive to succeed in their parole just to restore their "place" in the family. A woman who had just been paroled spoke to me about her main goal of doing well for her mother:

The first time I got busted, it was a whole lot of shock to everybody and it was hard for them to accept. But, when I was doing time back there in prison in another state , my mom used to come and see me when she could and she'd always send me money, packages, and write to me. But when I came out and was tripping again, it was hard for her to accept, and I know that I've done a lot to hurt her. My one sister and I aren't really on good terms, because she can't accept the things I've done. Like this time when I was doing time, I feel like that my mother could see me changing as far as my attitude and my outlook on life. You know, when I would write to her, I'm sure that she even pick up the difference in the letters. I don't know, it seems like we just got a whole lot closer. She felt better about me coming out this time. Also, by me coming at Crossroads and told her it was a religious type program, to a point-that it wasn't something they would shove down your throat-she liked that. Because she's a religious woman and really super square-don't cuss, drink, smoke, you know, nothing-and that made her feel good. Then when I told her that I was working, that was just heaven for her, she really liked that. That's going to be the good part of the whole trip. Like when I first came home and I sent her the flowers. I was talking to her on the phone-I called her the next day-and she was really crying and..uh..but it made her

really feel good that, after all this time of being locked up, that I would stop to think and that was the first thing I did--was to send her a big bouquet of flowers and let her know I love her. I feel that she feels that I'm going to be all right this time. So that makes me work even harder at being cool. I even took one of the stubs of my first check and sent it to her in a letter. I told her: see I'm really doing it. It's not much, but I'm doing it. That really made her feel good, I know. It makes me feel good, because I know she's happy by my doing right.

The guilt and the resulting motivation for "doing right" comes out especially with mother parolees in relation to their children. A 1964 study of female inmates at CIW showed that 68% of the inmates were mothers, more than 50% with minor children.¹²² This same study also states that:

Eighty-one percent of the mothers indicated their intent to assume the responsibilities of the mother role upon their release from prison. Almost three-fourths of the mothers (74%) were planning to reunite with all of their children upon release; 7 percent planned to reunite with some of their children and not others. The latter expectation probably was related to the splintering of siblings into more than one household, and the loss of custody of some children.¹²³

The displacement experience of female felons thus proves to be of massive proportions. A new place needs to be realized on several levels of existence. There is, to use Goffman's term,¹²⁴ the "spoiled identity" of being

¹²²Serapio R. Zalba, Women Prisoners and Their Families (Los Angeles: Delmar, 1964), pp. 35-6

¹²³Zalba, p. 52

¹²⁴See Erving Goffman, Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1970).

both female and felon, which together make for a rather deadly combination. We noted also that the woman parolee is in desperate need of practical skills for the labor market in order to obtain a measure of self-sufficiency. Before the parolee can reenter society there is the need for a primary support group in the community. Especially for women this could best take place in a "family"-context, either the parolee's own family, or, if this is not possible, some kind of a substitute family as described in this study in terms of a halfway house community. This family setting is to provide a structure of values and meanings as a basis for socialization for a new community. Ideally this community would be an open social context which fosters democratic and harmonious interpersonal relationships across class and sex barriers. This new life style would be shaped and motivated by the goal orientation that each person can express himself or herself along the full spectrum of masculine-feminine potentiality in social cooperation and thus transcend the polar tension of individual self versus sexual identity, and personal power versus social interest. These rather idealistic goals will be developed in more concrete terms in the following chapters in the context of a reentry model through a residential pastoral care center.

Chapter III

THE CASE OF BONNIE JONES

This case study relates to a woman parolee whom I will call Bonnie Jones, with whom I have worked over a period of fifteen months. The focus of this involvement was on her reentry program and experiences after she was paroled from the California Institution for Women (CIW). For three months prior to her release my wife Myra and I met Bonnie on a regular weekly basis as we assisted her in setting up a specific release program. At the time of her release, she moved to our halfway house and lived there for nine months. Next she moved to her own apartment in the vicinity of the halfway house where we could maintain contact and continue some counseling services. This fifteen-month period of time covers her pre-release status as prison inmate, her stay in a residential community program, and the move to her own place of residence. This sequence represents a gradual movement from the total dependency relationship of institutionalization to a more autonomous and responsible position of self-sufficiency and social integration. This represents a growth process in socialization. At the end of this period of time she was due for her official discharge from parole.

This phenomenological study concentrates on the world as experienced by Bonnie Jones. This specific case study is helpful in illustrating some major typical crisis themes which stand out in the reentry experience of most women parolees. So I will continue to refer to Bonnie Jones in the following chapters as I seek to develop a common theory and conceptualization of the reentry experience in conjunction with a model for a reentry ministry.

Past History

Bonnie is a black woman born in 1935 in Alabama. Right after her birth her parents left her with her maternal grandmother and disappeared. There is no official record of the time and place of her birth, a fact which made it impossible for her to obtain a regular birth certificate. Her father came back to see Bonnie when she was 17 and already married. Through the years, the last time when she was incarcerated at CIW, her father tried to establish a relationship with her. All these attempts have been violently rejected by Bonnie. She says: "He should have come to me when I needed him." Bonnie has tried several times, once with the help of a lawyer, to locate or gather information regarding her mother. However, she has never succeeded in learning more about her. Mother is not just a blank and question mark but has taken on the character of

a disturbing "witch" figure. She often wonders why her mother decided to "give her away."

Till the age of 10 Bonnie lived with her grandmother who stands out as the only significant parent-person of her childhood. This grandmother is remembered by Bonnie as a very stern and religious woman. After 10, for a reason that Bonnie never wanted to discuss, Bonnie was placed in a succession of foster homes. At the age of 16 she married an older man who, to quote Bonnie's own word, became a "God" unto her. She felt that he was the only one who loved her and that he knew what was best for her. Soon after the marriage her husband began to exploit her by sending her out on the street as a prostitute. After an oppressive marriage experience of about 10 years Bonnie left her husband. By this time Bonnie had become "street wise" and was well able to support herself by prostitution and the sale of narcotics. She had some continuing relationships with some men and after a while started to live with a man in a common-law relationship. This person was a typical "hustler" who was strongly committed to a criminal life-style. Bonnie collaborated with him and concentrated on the sale of narcotics. She reports that she had days when she made close to \$1500. Her criminal record shows that during that time she had numerous arrests and short-term imprisonments at the County Jail. The misdemeanor

convictions mention prostitution, disorderly conduct, sexual perversion, and a few counts of driving while intoxicated. In 1972 she did one year at the County Jail and then was sentenced to 5 years to life at the state prison on a felony charge of possession and sale of narcotics. After one year at CIW Bonnie became more socialized in her relationship to others (she had been earlier diagnosed as antisocial), and on account of radically improved attitudes and work records she was paroled on September 4, 1975.

Bonnie's medical history shows an anemic condition as well as asthma, both starting in early childhood and persisting in her later life. In personal interviews with her there are indications that Bonnie was considered a "sickly child" and that her asthmatic condition was instrumental in getting special and preferential treatment. She often missed school on account of this condition. Even at CIW her asthma strongly influenced her residential and work conditions. While other inmates went through frequent transfers from one cottage to another, Bonnie managed to stay for three years in the same cottage. This was based on the fact that she had obtained a special bed with a higher position which was considered better for her health. Bonnie often used the threat of an imminent asthma attack. This also became the reason for occasional absences from her work. The record of frequent medical complaints seems indicative of a pattern of hypochondria and hysteria.

Presenting Problem

We first met Bonnie in the month of June of 1975. Her counselor in her cottage at CIW was assisting Bonnie in her release plans as Bonnie was to appear before the Parole Board in August of that year. One of the main problems was the fact that Bonnie had no family or close relatives and that all her former associates in Los Angeles belonged to a criminal subculture. A positive and acceptable release program would necessitate a completely new environment to which she could go. The counselor referred Bonnie to Crossroads' halfway house. Bonnie initially had grave misgivings about the concept of a halfway house, thinking of institutional and restrictive conditions which would hamper her freedom. As Bonnie later described our first contact:

My case-manager at CIW asked me to make an appointment with Peter VanKatwyk, that he may help me. I went to see Peter and he told me about Crossroads. I thought it was like another halfway house and I was immediately turned off. So we talked a few days later and I decided to take a chance.¹

When Bonnie applied for residency at our halfway house we had an assessment interview with her. We looked at the information in her file and noted down our first impressions during the few times we had met. Her physical appearance was short and rather heavy set. As a black

¹Crossroads Newsletter I:1 (January 1976).

woman she had a very dark color. She always looked clean and healthy. Even though she was 40 she looked more like 25 years of age. During our very first contacts she appeared to act "tough" and somewhat angry. We also noticed she could suddenly become more cheerful and attractive. Her eyes were lively and expressive. Her laugh often sounded infectious, at times seductive. The emotional tone was one of richness of feeling and a gusty intensity of articulation. Often she came across as a "bubbly" person-sparkling with fun and laughter. The other side, which could suddenly emerge, showed a deep sense of gloom, hurt and insecurity. Often I became aware of feeling her anger burn just beneath the surface.

Bonnie's past contained few or no positive points of contact from which to proceed. Bonnie had never held a "straight job" in society and had never seen a regular paycheck which she had earned. She had no social network of a productive nature to which she could return. The challenge which she presented was the fact that she made some changes in her outlook on life and had entertained some positive goals for herself which were related to some promising academic and work experiences at CIW. When we asked Bonnie about this change in attitude as noted in her Board reports, she explained that she had become "tired"-tired of her old life style of being a "hustler" out on the streets. As a

40 year-old woman, she felt, she could no longer function in that demanding and dangerous life style. Also, she felt, she was facing her last opportunity of starting a new life. She had been hurting too much in her old life and the last four years of incarceration. Now, she felt, was the time for a change-now or never. We felt that from a situational point of view, Crossroads' reentry service and residential setting could offer a social support system which could facilitate her socialization process.

When we decided to accept Bonnie as a prospective resident of our halfway house, we began to work with her on a regular basis. My wife Myra was the liaison person in contact with community resources and assisted Bonnie in getting enrolled at Mount San Antonio College. This school offered a course which would equip Bonnie to realize her vocational goals of working either as medical secretary or in nursing. This school also offered counseling and financial assistance to so-called "socially handicapped" persons, a program which could be utilized for Bonnie.

One of the main problems in linking up Bonnie with society, as is the case with the great majority of other inmates, was the absence of virtually all contacts with societal institutions. All prior records, if ever existent, had vanished, and Bonnie often felt helpless in the tedious process of establishing a social contact and identity. A

typical note left for Myra at that stage of her preparations reads as follows:

Myra,

I wrote the letter to Jefferson High and I filled out the Grant, but one I didn't know how to finish it. Ms. C. my case-manager say that she will get my social security card out of my C-file, if its there. If its not I will send a card out again right away. I went to the school building and talked to my instructor and he say that Jefferson High School sent him my records and I did not get my diploma but I got my class ring. I was married at the time and its been so many years I dont remeber.

Love always, Bonnie

We maintained contact with Bonnie's CIW counselor who had initiated Bonnie's contact with Crossroad and who supported the release program which was geared to Bonnie's vocational goals. The counselor sent in the following Board Report just a few weeks before Bonnie was to appear before the Board for a parole consideration:

EVALUATION

Bonnie has maintained her positive attitude since her last Board Appearance. She has become more involved in working with the Chaplains, building good open rapport with those people. She will be involved within the community due to the change in her parole plans. Bonnie has been accepted on the following release program: Chaplain and Mrs. VanKatwyk, Crossroads, Inc., Claremont. Bonnie will enter Mt. San Antonio College for continuing her education to become a medical secretary.

V. J., Counselor

In August of 1975 the Board acted positively on Bonnie's release program, and Bonnie received a parole date for early September.

While being involved with Bonnie's release planning we had grown closer to Bonnie. We were not just involved

in her plans but also in her concerns as a person. The presenting problem was not only an outside factor of circumstances, although this was the way she presented the problem, but also her inside perspective on life. Bonnie had had a life-long history of emotional and social deprivation resulting in little sense of security and identity. Her trust level was extremely low. Her feeling of abandonment by her parents, and later by grandmother, and her self-defeating and antisocial street life had cut her off from life in communion and the sense of belongingness. As such her release plans constituted a personal crisis in the process of becoming a new person and establishing a new place for herself in life.

Preliminary Hypothesis

One can look at the nature of Bonnie's problem from different perspectives:

1) It can be considered primarily situational. With her release planning Bonnie already entered the parole situation which is a crisis of transition: moving from the penitentiary to society. Society did not represent the life Bonnie had had before the time in prison. Her former world, a criminal subculture existence, was to be completely negated. The "straight world" was an altogether new world for her. Rather than rehabilitation she faced a habilitation process of having to be supplied with entirely new attitudes and skills.

2) The problem can also be interpreted mainly in terms of Bonnie's intrapsychic dynamics. What stands out is the lack in positive trust relationships in her past. Rather than seeing Bonnie as a person "with a past" one can see her as a person "without a past," i.e. a nurturing past which can enter in as a support system for her present condition. Bonnie has not moved beyond the psychological stage of child-dependency. She has never received parenting from her own parents, little from other parent-figures, and even less from the substitute father for whom she looked in her husband. She still looks for people (just as she is still looking for her mother) to take care of her. The other pole of this dependency is her anger, stemming from her fear of abandonment, against those (especially represented by "society" at large) who, she feels, reject and condemn her. Not experiencing within herself a support-base, nor with the ability to trust in the process of life and in people, she is anxiously dependent on outside support.

3) From a more behavioral and social-learning point of view one can say that Bonnie's antisocial and criminal past does not provide any constructive models of intimacy and open communication relationships. Instead she has learned the manipulative modes of either playing up her weakness and helplessness (the seductively dependent "please take care of me" attitude) or the attention-demanding ways of becoming moody, angry and rejecting of others.

Reentry Experiences

When Bonnie received her parole date for September she became quite restless. She found excuses for not going to work. She started to plan for her departure from prison. Of special significance was the matter of clothes. Bonnie wrote a request slip for a pass to leave the institution for a few hours in order to buy new clothes for her return to society. She got extremely upset and angry when this request was denied. Eventually she enlisted the help of the father of a fellow inmate in getting her the clothes which she had specified.

The transition from prison proved to be a rather ambivalent and frightening experience for Bonnie. She appeared to be in an emotional daze and to be "out of touch." As she later wrote:

Myra picked me up at CIW, September 4 at 1:00 pm. I was afraid and life to me was empty. My freedom didn't mean too much to me then. So I arrived at the Cross-roads, not knowing what I was going to do.²

In talking with me in those first weeks of transition, she reported a deep feeling of loneliness. She had made a date with the man who had bought the clothes for her, but she soon broke off this relationship when he became more demanding. She resisted a more intimate relationship with him as she did not trust him and feared that he

²Ibid.

would get her into a parole violation and thus a return to prison. Bonnie felt very much in-between places, as expressed in the following interview which took place in the sixth week of "freedom" (B=Bonnie; P=Peter):

B.1-When I first came out--it's really a scary-uh--- you don't know what is going to happen next. You're nervous and upset. In the first place, you don't-- You see, what CIW does to you is-make you feel that society doesn't want you anyway. So you have this in your mind-you know, society is not particular about you being out here anyway.

P.1-You feel kind of in hostile territory.

B.2-Right. You are always on the defense, you know-and you are really uptight, and you watch-for you know that nobody wants you around-you know-that's the feeling you have. Because I am an ex-convict everybody will do this to me.

P.2-You don't really feel that there are people out there that want you to make it.

B.3-No, that's really what they pound in on you at CIW. You know, at those groups they would tell us: society don't want-un-dope dealers out on the street. People came out to CIW to make speeches. One dude came up and he was saying: dope fiends and dope dealers should just stay in the penitentiary. They should get life.

P.3-For ever and ever.

B.4-For e-e-e-ver! Like they treat a first degree murderer. That scared me, period. I didn't know.... You want to come home-and you don't know what you are coming to. It's a real bad feeling.

P.4-You are really uncertain whether there is a home out there.

B.5-Right.

P.5-Yes-and in one way you had a home at CIW, even though it was a bad place. You belonged there.

B.6-Right.

P.6-When you come out you have no place anymore; you are not at CIW and you are not here either-so you are nowhere.

B.7-That's right. AT CIW-you got a place there. The State gives you a place there-that's where you belong. So you stay there so long. You don't feel like-uh--see-right now, I am not a citizen. Really I am more in CIW than I am free. Right now, CIW still owns me-(reflectively) that's right-till you are discharged, they really own you-and you really, really have to be careful.

P.7-So you really feel that they still got you-and you are really out on a limb here-and they can reach out and grab you.

B.8-That's right. You make the tiniest mistake and CIW pick you up again.

What stands out is the ambivalence, B.4: "You want to come home-and you don't know what you are coming to." The first identification is still with prison, B.7: "CIW still owns me." The world of society does not want her (B.1-4), and CIW will claim her at "the tiniest mistake"(B.8).

One episode perhaps best expresses the feelings of displacement-of being between places and thus being no-place. Bonnie was drawn to one particular phonograph-record, listening over and over again to an old Bessie Smith blues by the name of "Back Water Blues," sung by the late Dinah Washington at the 1958 Newport Jazz Festival.³ Bonnie explained to me the story of the song: A woman has

³Dinah Washington, "Back Water Blues," Mercury SR 60200, (Newport: Newport Jazz Festival, 1958).

a house in the valley. On account of much rain there is a flood, and she is evacuated from her house and taken in a little boat. The woman has a long history of having to move from place to place. Standing there on a "high, old, lonely hill" she sees her home being washed away. She is tired of moving and she thinks "about all those people that ain't got no place to go."

That existential setting was exactly what Bonnie could identify herself with. "I know it," she said,

I feel like that. I have been taken away from my house. Society has taken everything I had away from me. These are the stipulations from Sacramento. I can't even be in L.A.-the place where I used to be. There are flyers out on me there, and narcs looking for me...And I am tired...Society took all this away from me. All my memories, friends, the house where I lived-(getting excited) And they don't know what that means. That's why society is on my shitlist. (growing more reflective and quiet again)-it's like-being in a rowboat-I'm floating. That's where I'm at. I'm floating--(growing more excited again) I hate the word 'adjusting'-I've done that all my life. I've no family of my own. The family I have I have to make myself.

Bonnie worked hard at making the halfway house family her own family. She became especially close to our four children and took on a nurturing mother-role for them. She enjoyed cooking special dishes -"soul food"- and spent most of her time at home. She participated in family outings.

Some of Bonnie's first experiences with "society" were negative. She had to register with the chief of police, which required fingerprinting and an interview with a critical police officer. This experience revived

memories from earlier convictions and left her with a strong society versus ex-convict (or in transactional analysis terms, a "not OK child") feeling. As she had not been able to obtain a birth certificate, Bonnie had to use parole papers for identification purposes. While applying for a library membership card, she became so flustered by the many questions asked by the attendant that she suddenly walked away from the desk and left the building.

Next to the halfway house, community Mt. San Antonio College became a significant place for her new identity. Bonnie worked hard at becoming a "student." At first she felt the fear and doubt whether she could ever make it as a full-fledged member of the school's academic and social community. Much time was spent in doing school assignments. Much satisfaction was gained in getting better marks than some other students. Personal contacts with and appreciation from instructors did greatly affirm her sense of worth and identity. She saw almost every day the school counselor who helped and encouraged her along the way. She was making friends, not just in the classroom, but afterwards with students sitting on the grass "rapping," or going to the neighborhood plaza for pizza. Bonnie also got a college shirt and a college jacket, with the large emblem up front, displaying her college identity.

One specific concern that she expressed took place in relation to her speech class. Other students made speeches about all their many experiences in the free world: vacation trips, social outings, interesting people, cultural events. Bonnie experienced the severe limitations of her own past experience: most of it was related to her criminal and prison experience. All of us in the halfway-house community worked with Bonnie for current experiences and activities, such as a fondue dinner, as suitable subject matter for her speeches.

Closely related to this was Bonnie's concern to establish a new identity for herself rather than capitalize on her past and exploit her ex-convict status. This is how she expressed it to me after having attended school for almost two months (B=Bonnie; P=Peter):

- B. I have something I like to have help with-uh-- People know that you just came home. They know where you just came from. You are expected to get on this conversation-you know. Some people, when they come from CIW, there is nothing else they know to talk about but CIW. So that's being expected from you. But you don't want to talk about it. That's one thing that you don't want to talk about. You want to forget that.
- P. Yeah-kind of your special interest is CIW-and that's what people talk about. That's what makes you outstanding, and you don't want to stand out in that respect.
- B. (laughing) That's right. You really don't. But they do-and constantly keep you on the defense.
- P. Yeah-always kind of remind you-that's what you are.

- B. I notice even in school-and nobody knows my business but Mr. G. (counselor) and like Mr. M. (professor)-people that are really close to me and try to help me-and, for instance, Beverly (a fellow student and ex-convict), she is out a while year and this is all she can talk about. It's CIW-obviously-this is all she knows-and I don't like it.
- P. That's her only claim to fame. That's what makes her special.
- B. CIW-and I don't want that at all. I'm trying to adjust myself to society-and I leave CIW alone. That's why I don't want to talk to Beverly. That's all she knows: CIW. I like the people that talk about now-what I'm doing at school, how I get along get along with the family, you know, things like that.

This conversation shows how Bonnie wants to break with her past and establish a new identity totally consisting of "here and now" experiences and accomplishments. The school is the "now thing" she is doing and thus becomes basic for the new identity.

After Bonnie had attended school for some time, we noticed that we could not just go by the glowing reports she gave us of how well she was doing. First of all, through the school counselor, we heard that her school assignments were not always carried out, resulting in some low grades and displeased instructors. There were also some emerging problems in her interpersonal relationships at school. Bonnie acted like an extremely gregarious person, using all her natural charms, and thus was establishing many relationships, both with men and women. She often initiated, especially with men, in giving her telephone number to

people. It was very important for her to get calls, and she would spend long periods of time at the telephone. When some of the men callers, however, attempted to make dates with her she would decline, using her school work as an excuse. At times she would get intimately involved with different men, thus causing jealousy feelings and rivalry tensions between people.

One specific instance illustrates some of these dynamics. In the halfway house some tensions were developing relating to these telephone calls. Bonnie began to ask other members of the house to answer the telephone and if it were a particular person asking for her to say that she was either sick or too busy with school work to be disturbed. People in the house began to object to getting involved in these problems. Also we confronted her with the fact that she was in one way encouraging these calls while she was not ready to take responsibility for them. After one such confrontation with her, Bonnie went to a party and for the very first time she did not return to the home for two days. In working through this episode in some confrontational counseling sessions with her, the focus came down on the following points:

- 1) Bonnie had felt rejection from our side in the open confrontation previous to the party. The only way, she said, she could deal with rejection was to reciprocate.

So she stayed away for two days without calling us about her whereabouts. This experience underscored once again Bonnie's sensitivity about being rejected and her negative way of responding to that feeling.

2) While she was gone Bonnie had spent one night with a male fellow student. In prison Bonnie had never been involved in any homosexual behavior. Without any sexual encounters for four years she felt that she had become a "virgin" and professed no sexual desires. This first sexual experience after prison was significant for her, as she explained, because she had been able to please the man. She had been told by him how "good" she had been. In this way her womanhood had been affirmed. After this experience she did not want to continue to see this man. This emphasized Bonnie's low sense of self-esteem and how her own sense of sexuality and femininity depended on how desirable and "good" she could be for others.⁴

3) The way Bonnie made contact with men was to play the role of a helpless, little woman. The men whom she attracted were mainly older men who expressed a need to take care of her. She accepted all kinds of services, gifts and even regular financial allowances without the

⁴Note how the same dynamics were also present in Bonnie's relationship to us in the halfway house. She felt that she had to be "good" in school in order for us to accept her. So she constantly played up her successes and denied her failures and problems.

intention of reciprocating in a stable, intimate relationship with a sexual commitment. We worked with Bonnie to increase her awareness of her own needs expressed in her manipulative behavior as well as the needs of the men whom she seduced by her stance of helplessness.

After her first three months in school Bonnie entered the hospital for a hysterectomy. Her recovery was slow, and she did not go back to school after the Christmas recess to finish her first semester. However, she was admitted to the Licensed Vocational Nursing (LVN) program, and her grades for the first semester were based on the work which she had completed. We experienced our most serious problems with Bonnie while she was recuperating after her operation. She was very depressed and demanding of attention. She got abusive with her physician who, she felt, neglected her at times. Tensions mounted as people in the house became increasingly irritated with her complaints.

Some extensive counseling took place during this critical period in Bonnie's experience. At first the focus centered on Bonnie's fears-both of death and of losing her femininity. Before the operation Bonnie felt and dreamed that she would die during surgery. She made arrangements with her physician that Myra could be with her when she was anesthetized. She was holding on to Myra's hand

and had a hard time letting herself go into unconsciousness. Additional time was spent with her, including one session with the physician, concerning the effects of this particular operation with respect to her sexual functioning and responsiveness. This surgery felt like a hostile invasion into her innermost being. It heightened her fear of being vulnerable. It took a struggle for her to trust and let go.

During her recuperation Bonnie constantly pressed her physician for more medication to relieve the pain. She also expressed a need for wine, to build up her blood, and beer, to help her relax and go to sleep. Both drinks, she claimed, were advised by the doctor. Soon Bonnie manifested some moments in which she appeared drugged and incoherent. One evening she fell against the wall and hurt herself. With further consultation with the doctor it appeared that she had mixed her medications, and while she drank some wine and beer she did not eat much. We decided with her to limit alcoholic beverages to downstairs' consumption with the meals, rather than unsupervised drinking in her own room, and the doctor limited her to the use of aspirin.

In January of 1976 three new women parolees arrived at our halfway house from CIW. While Bonnie's attitude toward fellow parolee residents at the house had been generally cooperative and friendly, she violently resented

two of the three new women. The conflicts mainly arose from situations where she felt slighted or rejected. Perhaps her problems at this stage can be best described in terms of the "older child" who is overcome by jealousy at the arrival of a new child into the family. The new women needed a lot of assistance and attention, but our reentry work was severely hampered by Bonnie's obstructive behavior. One of the new arrivals soon left and claimed that the trouble with Bonnie was a main reason for her departure.

Finally in a hard, confrontational session with Bonnie in her room, after she had walked away from our dinner and slammed the door behind her, I told her that we could not continue with her this way. In a follow-up group setting, which we called our "family-meetings," Bonnie was helped in expressing her negative feelings against one of the women. This new family member had assumed most of the cooking chores and re-arranged the kitchen. This had felt to Bonnie like being pushed out of her own kitchen and thus being uprooted in her own house. While emphasizing sympathy and understanding for Bonnie's feelings, we insisted on a change in her behavior if she was to be able to stay in the house. In a rather sudden turn-about, Bonnie pledged that she was going to give it a new try. "That's all I can promise," she said, "to give it a try." In the following weeks we were impressed with the radical change

in her attitude. She showed a strong will to become a pleasant person in the house and even developed a warm friendship with the woman toward whom she had first experienced such hostility.

During this time of Bonnie's surgery and recuperation a rather close relationship had developed between Bonnie and one of her male friends. He was a few years older than Bonnie and insisted on a strong, exclusive relationship. Bonnie agreed up to a point. She limited her "night out" to Friday nights. Often she would discuss with us conflicts between Cliff (her boy friend) and herself due to the pressure he put on her to spend more time together. After a while Cliff proposed marriage and presented her with an expensive engagement ring, which Bonnie refused.

In our counseling with Bonnie we often talked about this tension between her dependency stance by which she encouraged Cliff to take care of her (including a weekly financial allowance) and her need to preserve distance and autonomy. Cliff seemed confused and angry as he received a mixed message from her. In one of our discussions Bonnie said: "I don't want to be nowhere when Cliff decide to drop me." One part of Bonnie was still in touch with her old life style of being a male-dependent survivor who sees her situation and survival only in terms of her relationship with her "man." Another part of Bonnie did not trust

people, especially men, as she had been "dropped" too many times before in her past experiences. Getting older she was scared of building her future security upon a dependency relationship with a man.

One way to break out of feeling of insecurity was for Bonnie to work on her own career in nursing. She often fantasized aloud about the day that she would receive her professional LVN "pin" - to indicate her professional status as a licensed vocational nurse. If she would have the security of a good job, she said, she would be able to get closer to Cliff, not having to depend on him for her own survival.

As part of her LVN training Bonnie was assigned to a hospital for a part-time work placement. At this time Bonnie also started to look around for a full-time position as a nurse's aid for the summer months. During her first interviews at hospitals and nursing homes, Bonnie experienced a great deal of anxiety. Part of this was related to the fact that she had to state on the application form, and possibly further explain, the fact that she had been incarcerated for the last four years. Through a friend of the halfway house Bonnie was, after many discouraging and disappointing experiences, hired at a home for handicapped children.

When Bonnie started to work at this home she increasingly began to feel ready for moving out of the halfway

house to her own apartment. She talked about this almost on a daily basis. Together we began to look in the paper for apartments and thus to get an idea of suitable locations and price ranges. Also in June of 1976 Crossroads was going to get four new ladies from CIW and so there was some pressure that we applied for her to be ready to move to her own place.

In the beginning of June Bonnie moved to an apartment close to her place of work. She had arranged for transportation to her work, and Crossroads and some other friends had helped her in obtaining the necessary household items to set up her own place. The first four days Bonnie called us by telephone each night and appeared to need much contact and reassurance. Gradually the phone calls decreased. We maintained contact also by visits. As a parent figure for our children, Bonnie would spend some time with us in the halfway house during the weekend or one of the children would go for an afternoon to Bonnie's apartment for a visit.

During these contacts Bonnie would give us a very bright picture of how well she was doing at her work. However, in late June, I received a call from the superintendent about some serious problems related to Bonnie's work at the home for handicapped children. While Bonnie was doing well with the children, there were conflicts in her relationships with supervisory staff persons. It was felt that Bonnie

was extremely defensive and sensitive about any instructions which were given to her. At one time she had reacted by leaving her job in the middle of the night, leaving a ward of children unattended. Ordinarily this behavior would have been sufficient ground for dismissal but the superintendent, knowing of Bonnie's reentry situation, decided to discuss the matter with Bonnie and give her one more chance. A few weeks later Bonnie again walked off her job. Knowing that she could not return this time she started to look for a new job. She did this all by herself and was successful in securing a nurse's aid position in a nursing home for older people. When she told us about this change in jobs, she hid the fact that she had left her first job on account of conflicts and the certain prospect of getting fired. Instead, she presented the change as a matter of her own free choice based on the fact that her new job was more in line with her nursing training.

The next contact with Bonnie was an early (about 6 am) Sunday morning telephone call in the beginning of August. Bonnie sounded distressed and hopeless. She said: "Nobody can say I haven't tried, but it's no good." She indicated that she felt that there was no way that society would let her make it into the straight world. When I asked her what she was deciding to do she said that she was going to take a bus down to Los Angeles, back to her old friends, for there at least she knew where she was at. I did not

try to reason with her, partly because she sounded to me like she had been drinking, but heard her out and then asked her to meet with me later that day. She let me make an appointment with her to pick her up from her apartment in the afternoon. Bonnie was there when Myra and I came together to see her. At a quiet restaurant nearby we took almost two hours to see what was happening with Bonnie.

Bonnie was tearful and showed much anger when she gave an account of the difficulties which she was experiencing. First of all was the fact that she had been burglarized a few days before when she was at work. Somebody had kicked in her door when she was at work, she said, and had taken her stereo component set, a pair of shoes and some other items of clothing. This event had made her feel very scared, vulnerable and insecure. What made matters worse was the subsequent contact with the police. The police officer, who came out to investigate the burglary, suggested, according to Bonnie, that since she was an ex-convict with a history of dealing in narcotics, she was most likely back into her old ways and had had an unhappy customer raid her apartment. This, Bonnie claimed, showed that no matter how hard you tried, society was never going to let you forget that you were an ex-convict: once a criminal, always a criminal. Related to this break-in was the fact that Bonnie had had an argument with her boy friend Cliff. According to Bonnie, Cliff in a rage of jealousy

had come to her apartment with a gun, thinking that Bonnie was seeing some other man. Bonnie had called the police who restricted Cliff from ever coming close to Bonnie's apartment again. We discussed the very real possibility that Cliff had been responsible for the break-in - to get even and also to reclaim his gifts as all the items which had been taken were things which Cliff had bought for Bonnie.

A second matter which aggravated the situation was the fact that Bonnie had just received a note from her parole agent that a new agent had been assigned to Bonnie's region. This change in parole agents greatly upset Bonnie. It had taken a long time for her to feel secure with her original parole agent, and she felt rejected and threatened by this change. Also her first parole agent had assured Bonnie that she would recommend that after one year (i.e. in September) Bonnie would be released from parole. Now, Bonnie felt, her parole time would be extended in order that the new parole agent would have some time to get to know her. Again, this event felt to Bonnie as an indication that no matter how hard she would try, no one was going to let her forget that she was an ex-inmate who could still be pushed around at anyone's whim in the bureaucratic establishment, without any regard for the fact that she had done close to one year of good time on her parole.

In our discussion Bonnie also touched upon some other matters of concern to her. Although she tried to hide this

from us, she felt upset that we as the VanKatwyk family were leaving California that month and that a new supervisor team, whom she did not know, was taking over at the halfway house. This felt like a real termination with Crossroads as her family. Another change was her new job where she was still getting adjusted. She liked the work, she said, but the number of hours and the pay were hardly sufficient to maintain herself. We sensed that there were some financial burdens and debts, although Bonnie denied this.

In this discussion with Bonnie we do not only notice Bonnie's own struggles and difficulties in establishing herself in the free world, but also the fact that tremendous situational changes had come down to bear on Bonnie. These changes were all related to loss: the loss of a job, a parole agent, her stereo set and other intimate personal belongings, her "family." As such Bonnie was experiencing a real crisis of transition in which displacement and insecurity feelings dominated.

Rather than further explore Bonnie's feelings we dealt with this situation in a "crisis counseling" fashion. We had previously talked with Bonnie's new parole agent and thus could arrange a meeting where Bonnie's fears about an extension of her parole could be discussed. It appeared that the original time table of one-year parole could be maintained. Even though we as the VanKatwyk family were leaving there were some Board members of Crossroads who

had become close to Bonnie, and we emphasized those remaining contacts. Bonnie appeared determined again to stay with her job and prepare herself to return to school for her nursing training in September. Bonnie did not contact us before we left California. We speculate that it was too hard for her to meet the children and us at our departure, although she had promised to do so. The pain of her life had been, as she often said, to always have to go "through changes."

Some Concluding Interpretative Observations

We can note some similarities between Bonnie Jones and the general clinical profile of female criminals. There is indication of hysteria in Bonnie's utilization of her asthmatic condition and the way she capitalized on her hysterectomy. There is also a history of alcohol abuse, both as part of an impulsive, antisocial life style and as a coping mechanism for stress. Bonnie's past also fits the general pattern of parental deprivation, felt by Bonnie in her desertion by mother and also as evident in the lack of consistent father figures.

However, there are also some significant aspects in which Bonnie does not fit this general profile. Even though her identity was largely shaped by a criminal subculture context, Bonnie was a relatively stable, functioning and successful member of that society. In this sense

Bonnie could not be considered a social misfit with a pathetic failure pattern so characteristic of most female felons. It is interesting to notice, for instance, that even though Bonnie dealt in narcotics she was never a user herself, as she feared to lose control of her life and be reduced to the helpless condition of a "junkie." In her reentry also showed an ability for readjusting her behavior in keeping with the demands of reality, as was evident in some of the confrontational experiences she had in the halfway house. When she lost her first job, she responded by securing right away another position.

In analyzing the basic personality dynamics in the case of Bonnie Jones it becomes evident, as already expressed in the preliminary hypothesis, that there are two main component dimensions which need to be looked at in conjunction. First, there is the dimension of her intrapyschic dynamics. With the massiveness and traumatic intensity of Bonnie's past this dimension is almost overwhelming. But just as critical in significance is the unique situational setting of her present experience of the reentry process itself. Rather than operating as two separate or merely complementary dimensions one can expect, as in any system consisting of several variants, that both the intrapsychic and situational aspects will closely interrelate and thus effect the dynamics of each.

In Bonnie's intrapsychic world I have emphasized the dependency versus autonomy struggle as of central significance. Her deprived childhood experience continues to feed into her dependency existential life position. The "orphan" feeling of having been deserted by her mother at birth is expressed in Bonnie's continual preoccupation with and search for "mother," both the real one and the substitutes. Her asthmatic condition was often utilized as a main means for receiving mother-nurturing and attention. At CIW Bonnie managed to receive a special bed, passes from work, to stay in the same cottage for three years and thus also stay with her same "mother"-counselor to whom she had become close.

The dependency orientation also came out in the halfway-house setting. She happened to be the first resident in the Claremont house and thus was the "first child" in the "family." Bonnie responded very successfully to this role. The main problems with Bonnie occurred when more "children" arrived. Bonnie acted up competitively as the "older child" who fears to be displaced by new intruders.

In school Bonnie felt at first extremely threatened and insecure and used the position of "helplessness" for people to take care of her. This came out in her relationship with the college counselor, whom she saw every day, and her contacts with her instructors. In this way she

also attracted the attention of mostly older male students with a need to own and take care of a helpless, little woman.

This general picture of dependency fits Erich Fromm's description of the oral character-orientation.⁵ In this way Bonnie's manipulative ways of relating to people is to be understood. Frederick Perls often defined manipulation in terms of a conflict between self-support and environmental support.⁶ Not trusting himself or herself, the person turns to others. Yet, not trusting the other person either, he or she begins to manipulate the other person. In this way we begin to sense more of the ambivalence of the polarity tension between dependency and autonomy. Bonnie has so little trust in herself that she turns to others in dependency, and at the same time she wants to turn away from others and not be dependent on them because she cannot really trust them.

This dependency versus autonomy ambivalence came out in Bonnie's incarceration. Initially she rebelled against the institutionalization and socialization process by remaining fiercely defiant and antisocial in her attitudes and behavior. Then she suddenly reversed her position

⁵Supra.

⁶See Everett Shostrom, Man, the Manipulator (New York: Abingdon Press, 1968).

from a rebel to a model prisoner. Also at first she bristled at the idea of paroling to a halfway house on the grounds that this would amount to being in another "prison." Yet, once being part of the house, it was extremely difficult for her to separate herself from it. I have already extensively described the ambivalent character of Bonnie's relationship to male friends. This was the conflict between the "male-dependent survivor" stance and the autonomy needs of distancing herself and limiting the intensity of the relationship (only Friday nights, no engagement ring). This was the setting for the frequent power and control fights, climaxing in Cliff's last desperate attempt of asserting his power, expressed by the gun, over "his woman."

The situational circumstances only reinforce these basic intrapsychic personality dynamics in Bonnie. The transitional character of parole highlights her feelings of insecurity and distrust. The past four years of incarceration have cut her off from her past, and nothing has been provided for filling the vacuum. The halfway house is descriptive of Bonnie's existential position as a "halfway" person, of being a person in between places, and as such being no-place. The house is descriptive of Bonnie's personal crisis in the rehabilitative process of becoming a new person and of establishing a new place for herself in life.

In this process of adaptation and socialization, Bonnie faces the need to deny her past. Parole pressures and stipulations, enforced by her own negative need of avoiding re-incarnation, demand that Bonnie cut off all her past connections with life, pick up at the immediate now, and start living for a new, intangible, unknown future. Having to renounce all she ever had, even though it was largely negative and painful, makes her feel disconnected and displaced. This is a scared and lonely feeling which is projected in hostility toward "society:"

I have been taken away from my house. Society has taken everything I had away from me...All my memories, friends, the house where I lived-and they don't know what that means. That's why society is on my shitlist...

The positive counterpart of renunciation is a basic trust in life and in one's ability to function in new places and positions in the world. Yet, for Bonnie, the "straight" world is "society" which is both overwhelming in complexity and antagonistic in its attitude toward her. Society is not so much "big brother" as the "big parent." Society's criminal justice system is the outstanding feature and makes society predominantly the "critical parent." Even now, while society is granting parole in order to get Bonnie in rather than out of society, Bonnie does not really trust society: "CIW still owns me...You make the tiniest mistake and CIW pick you up again."

As such Bonnie feels ambiguous in her relationship to society. At times Bonnie identifies with society, accepts its norms and goals, and rejects the criminal subculture of her past. At other times Bonnie switches sides and feels one with her old associates and life style and faces "society" as the adversary. The "switch" is the level of success or failure in the socialization process.

This socialization process is the movement from prison back to society. The pain of this movement is breaking with the familiar and encountering the new and unknown. This need for adjustment is a test in self-esteem and self-confidence. The less trust a person has in himself or herself, the harder it is to adjust to change. This is even more of a problem when change is of a sudden and drastic nature as is the case with parole. Eric Hoffer well expressed this in saying:

We can never be really prepared for that which is wholly new. We have to adjust ourselves, and every radical adjustment is a crisis in self-esteem: we undergo a test, we have to prove ourselves. It needs inordinate self-confidence to face drastic change without inner trembling.⁷

Bonnie is facing in her reentry drastic change and so becomes especially sensitized to the low trust level within herself. She says: "I hate the word adjusting-I've done

⁷Eric Hoffer, The Ordeal of Change (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 3.

that all my life." These feelings come out in her identification with the "Back Water Blues" which expresses the pain of uprootedness and homelessness.

Bonnie thus finds herself between two worlds: the criminal subculture world and the "straight" world. She is not grounded in any of these two: she is "in a rowboat," she is "floating." This floating position allows her to "switch" from one world to the other world. This "switch" relates to which of these two worlds offers the best support basis for Bonnie to depend on for her security and identification needs. Note, for instance, Bonnie's early-morning call to me at a time in which she experienced pressure and failure related to increased loss and change, leading up to her decision to take the bus to L.A. and switch sides.

Using Transactional Analysis terminology we could say that the switch is a switch in life-positions. The ideal rehabilitation goal is the "I'm OK (ex-convict), You're OK (society)" position. The "I'm OK" is symbolized by a successful parole career, and official certification of rehabilitation, and, for Bonnie, a LVN pin. Failures in the rehabilitation process make the parolee feel "I'm not OK." The way in which Bonnie tends to react to that uneasy feeling is to switch to the "I'm OK-You're not OK" position against society. Thomas Harris identified this "I'm OK-You're not OK" position as typical for the criminal

antisocial person.⁸

A Guarded Prognosis

Bonnie has two inner pulls. There is an inner tug of war between a defeatist, scapegoating victim-pole ("it's no good tryin-society want me back in CIW") and the assured, optimistic pole ("I'm going to make it to the mountain top"). On the positive side we can stress the following points:

1) Bonnie has been able to make some little steps in her reentry process. These successes enter each present moment and increase the potentiality of further and bolder steps of socialization. She has completed a college semester, been admitted to the LVN program, and is presently employed. She has been linked to some major societal institutions through getting admitted into academic, financial, medical and social programs. In some crisis situations she has been able to work through, rather than evade, problems. She has done almost one year of good parole despite the fact that violations on parole tend to occur relatively soon after the person's release from prison, nearly half of them within the first six months after offenders are released.⁹

⁸T. A. Harris, I'm OK-You're OK (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 48-50.

⁹R. M. Carter and Leslie T. Wilkins, Probation and Parole: Selected Readings (New York: Wiley, 1970), p. 199.

2) Bonnie has often stated that she is "tired." She is tired of her old life-style of being a hustler out on the streets. As a forty-year-old woman she feels that she cannot keep up that life. Also, she feels that this is her last chance of starting out on a new life-pattern. She has been hurting too much by her old life and the last four years of incarceration. There appears to be a new goal-orientation in her existential world. Her options are clearly defined and are of a either-or antithetical nature.

3) Bonnie's social "field" has become more extensive and supportive to her personal growth. When she came from prison she had no family of her own to go to. Even though there has been a series of short-term, immature relationships, Bonnie has also experienced a more stable network of personal contacts serving as a substitute kinship structure. The halfway-house community was such a more enduring setting, and some contacts remain through a number of friends there. Also there is a school community to which she can return, and she is presently developing a work community. Both these communities feed into her new vocational goal-orientation. This repopulation of her psychosocial system supports the new direction in her life.

However, this prognosis remains guarded. There remain some critical factors of change and upheaval in Bonnie's life which can activate the "switch" in a reversal movement

symbolized by the bus to L.A. She has just lost some significant people in her life (halfway-house family, parole officer, steady boy-friend), moved to a new job (after losing her first job) and is in the process of moving to a new apartment (on account of the break-in). Also she has to prepare herself for a new semester in school (a re-entry experience in and by itself). The next few months appear to be a crucial time for getting re-established and stabilized in her socialization program.

Major Emphasis in Therapy Approach

The halfway-house program in working with Bonnie has stressed a practical approach geared to the immediate goals of her reentry endeavors. Some main emphases in Bonnie's reentry program could be summarized as follows:

1) Reality Oriented

Bonnie sees her problem mainly as situational. Her goal is to move from a marginal and conflict situation outside society to a productive and secure position within society.

A sound principle in therapy is to proceed from the client's own perception of the problem rather than having the therapist define the problem from his or her own perspective and then deal with that, the therapist's, problem. This, of course, does not mean that the therapist

is not entitled to his or her own concept of the problem nor that this concept cannot be shared with the client in a reality-testing or confrontational fashion. It does mean, however, that the therapist concentrates on empathy with the client, which is the therapeutic art of participating in and identifying with the perceptual world of the client, the point where the client's energy is being mobilized.

As such the main emphasis has been on practical means of facilitating the socialization process for Bonnie. In a real sense this reality-orientation approach also best fits Bonnie's psychological situation. The outstanding presenting problem is that her life-style has been anti-social and irresponsible. From a developmental point of view she has not been adequately socialized and thus behaves on an immature and impulsive level, without having sufficiently internalized social controls and meaning values. A reality-therapy approach will facilitate growth toward a more positive and rewarding relationship to society which will become positively reinforcing of the socialization process.

2) Relationship Oriented

An outstanding feature in Bonnie's personal history is the poverty in nurturing interpersonal relationships. As a child she experienced little consistent parenting in a family context, and as an adult she mainly functioned within a criminal "I-it" people-market.

Conventional psychotherapy often emphasizes helping the patient gain insight into his or her own personal dynamics. Bonnie, however, is mainly aware of problems in living with others rather than her own intrapsychic conflicts. A relationship-oriented approach as followed with Bonnie in the halfway-house setting, emphasized ego-adaptive techniques in a re-parenting kind of process. The goal is not the often atomistic notion of individual change but a more wholistic view of a re-orientation therapy which seeks the establishment and further development of a psychosocial support and identity group in harmony with her new personal and vocational goals. The halfway-house family setting served as a "therapeutic community" both by modelling new interpersonal behavior and by providing a home-support basis for outreach into expanding social contexts, such as school and job settings.

3) Future Oriented

Bonnie's past takes on an almost demonic quality in locking her into a static loser position. She does not dare to claim the word "christian" for herself even though she calls herself a "believer." Her reluctance stems from her sense of inferiority on account of the unacceptability of her immoral past. She says: "There isn't a thing in the world which I haven't done." Religiously Bonnie sees a static God who has stayed with her past and

and thus primarily meets her as Judge - the way society is dealing with her, i.e. in terms of the wrongs of her past. Bonnie herself, too, has blocked her personal identity somewhere in her unsavory past.

Both a religious and growth orientation stress release from the bondage of the past toward a new openness for the future. Rather than reality limited by the past, the emphasis is on reality unlimited, i.e. the potential reality in terms of the future. This "growth" perspective sees Bonnie in terms of what she can become rather than what she has been. Her sense of personal identity is to be liberated from a substantialistic concept of the self determined by her past so as to accept a more dynamic and creative awareness of herself being born anew each moment as a person.

With such a growth-orientation the therapist, rather than taking a narrow psychoanalytic focus on Bonnie's painful past, follows a goal-directed approach capitalizing on her newly found meanings and aspirations in life. In pastoral counseling it is the emphasis on both forgiveness of the past and the eschatological dimension of hope and new life, both individual and societal. Rather than the punitive perspective of the bad past, the rehabilitative perspective emphasizes the potentials of a good future. The ethic is not negative: controlling and repressing

the past, but positive: the "pull" or "lure" dynamics of new goals and ideas that beg for realization. The hope is: "One day I will be free."

Chapter IV

THE PROMISES AND PAINS OF REENTRY

Introduction

Chapter II has developed a basic frame-work of a theological anthropology in which the human person is considered in holistic unity with his or her structure of existence. From a phenomenological perspective each person is defined by his or her unique "place in life" descriptive of that particular experience of being-in-the-world. The spiritual nature of each person's mode of human existence is found in the intentionality structure of chosen values and meanings which organizes and energizes human life styles, including criminal behavior systems.

From a distinctly psychological perspective this chapter will apply these holistic and teleological concepts to the life situation of female felons especially in relation to the reentry dynamics of parole. What stands out in their lives is the fact that they are out of place and in search of a place. This particular life experience I refer to as "displacement," and I will analyze this phenomenon according to Erik Erikson's moral psychology in terms of his developmental concepts of identity and crisis.

The pastoral ministry of "preparing a place" also will be analyzed from this psychological perspective in this chapter. Thus I will refer to the growth process of social integration and incorporation. The term "growth" is often used in a theological and/or humanistic context in reference to human potential and self-realization. By relating growth to "places" of social incorporation I will emphasize the social and moral structures in which this growth takes place as well as the gradual nature of this growth according to a progressive sequence of "growth places" facilitating the person in the process of expanding consciousness.

A. Displacement and Identity

In Chapter II I have emphasized that the self cannot be considered in a static, individualistic fashion. Rather, the self emerges and functions in dynamic interaction within a life-and world-structure which provides a framework of meaning and purpose for the individual. The term identity has been used to describe this psychosocial interaction between the self and its world. Identity is the self not in isolation but as it is experienced and as it functions in life situations. "Identity" is a flexible, relational and situational concept.

The term "identity" was first popularized by Erik

Erikson in psychoanalytic circles. He modified orthodox Freudian theory by not just concentrating on biological stages of development but by correlating these stages with changes in the person's social context. As Erikson pointed out each psychosexual stage has its characteristic mode of social interaction. Development takes place in the life cycle of the biological human organism in programmed conjunction with an ever widening social radius. As such the life cycle becomes the setting for the "epigenesis of identity."

This relational definition is crucial in understanding the dynamics of the existential realities of uprootedness and estrangement, and the psychological concept of developmental crisis. "Crisis" in Erikson's developmental psychology points to that critical moment when the self faces the necessity of managing new encounters with a changing social context. A crisis signifies that moment in which the self either meets a new world in a creative encounter leading to new meanings or fails in making contact and thus fades into irrelevancy. Erikson explains "crisis" as connoting "not a threat of catastrophe, but a turning point, a crucial period of increased vulnerability and heightened potential, and therefore, the ontogenic source of generational strength and maladjustment."¹

¹Erik Erikson, Identity-Youth and Crisis (New York: Norton, 1968), p. 96.

Crisis in this sense becomes a New Testament *κρίσις* the moment of judgment. These are the "two ways" of the crisis experience: it leads either to life or to death. Life is being lived within the polarity of this paradoxical tension. In order to grow the person must risk dying.

This is the pattern of the normal human growth cycle. Growth means letting go of one's place and establishing oneself in another place. This is the way the person enters the world. The first crisis of "displacement" takes place in what has been aptly called the "birth trauma."² From the tranquility of the womb the baby is rather abruptly pushed out by a hundred pound propulsive force into a hostile world, full of startlingly unfamiliar conditions. As Harris describes it:

...he the new born baby is exposed to foreign and doubtless terrifying extremes of cold, roughness, pressure, noise, non support, brightness, separateness and abandonment. The infant is, for a short time, cut off, apart, separate, unrelated.³

In this dramatic moment in which the fear of death looms large in the experience of displacement, life asserts itself when contact is made with the new place when,

²See Otto Rank's 1924 publication of Trauma of Birth in which the primacy of dependency and insecurity feelings is expressed. Otto Rank, Trauma of Birth (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1924).

³T. A. Harris. I'm OK-You're OK (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 40.

within moments the infant is introduced to a rescuer, another human being who picks him up, wraps him in warm coverings, supports him, and begins the comforting act of "stroking"...This is the first incoming data that life "out there" isn't all bad. It is a reconciliation, a re-instatement of closeness.⁴

This birth crisis of displacement from old places followed by entrance into new places is the growth pattern for all further human development in life.⁵ Erikson in describing the normal human growth cycle emphasizes both the conflict in letting go of the old place and the potential reward of increased strength in the new place. Says he:

I shall present human growth from the point of view of the conflicts, inner and outer, which the vital personality weathers, re-emerging from each crisis with an increased sense of inner unity, with an increase of good judgment, and an increase in the capacity "to do well" according to his own standards and the standards of those who are significant to him.⁶

This intricate picture of health and sickness in the tension context of two conflicting forces is perhaps best expressed by Abraham Maslow when he speaks about the opposing forces of psychological defense vs. growth:

Every human being has both sets of forces within him. One set clings to safety and defensiveness out of fear, tending to regress backward, hanging on to the past, afraid to grow away from the primitive communication

⁴Ibid., p. 41.

⁵See also the excellent article by Sidney M. Jourard, "Growing Awareness and The Awareness of Growth," in Herbert Otto and John Mann (eds.) Ways of Growth (New York: Grossman, 1968).

⁶Erikson, pp. 90-1.

with the mother's uterus and breast, afraid of independence, freedom and separateness. The other set of forces impels him forward toward wholeness of self and uniqueness of self, toward full functioning of all his capacities, toward confidence in the face of the external world at the same time that he can accept his deepest, real, unconscious self.⁷

The human potential movement often only propounds the virtues of growth while disdaining security needs as merely infantile and immature. Erikson, however, does not present developmental stages as so many steps of a ladder which a person is to climb, leaving behind the old stages which now have become obsolete. Rather, the life cycle repeats itself. each stage of human development makes a contribution to a basic institutional endeavor and each generation brings to these institutions the remnants of infantile needs and youthful fervor and receives from them a reinforcement of childlike vitality. Religion is an excellent example as it represents the guardianship of the first stage: "...the oldest and has been the lasting institution to serve the ritual restoration of a sense of trust in the form of faith while offering a tangible formula for a sense of evil against which it promises to arm and defend man... All religious practice includes periodic childlike surrender to the Power that creates and re-creates."⁸

⁷Abraham Maslow, Toward a Psychology of Being (New York: Van Nostrand, 1968), p. 46.

⁸Erikson, p. 106.

Erikson thus stresses the need for a harmonious balance between safety- and growth-needs. The same point is made by Tournier when he speaks of two gospels: "a gospel of abnegation and weakness, and a gospel of self-assertion and self-fulfillment."⁹ A dogmatic, one-dimensional growth orientation can often be a basic cause for conflict with the religious concern for "self-surrender." This is expressed by Erich Fromm when he equates the message of self-denial with authoritarian religion.¹⁰ However humanistic psychology can swing to the other extreme of preaching an exclusivistic gospel of only self-realization or self-actualization.

It is important to emphasize that health is moving forward not just by virtue of the one growth force, but, rather, in a harmonious, interdependent and reciprocal relationship between both safety and growth needs. Again to quote Maslow:

Apparently growth forward customarily takes place in little steps, and each step forward is made possible by the feeling of being safe, or operating out into the unknown from a safe home port, of daring because retreat is possible.¹¹

⁹Paul Tournier, A Place for You (London: SCM Press, 1968), p. 96.

¹⁰See Erich Fromm, Man for Himself: An Inquiry into the Psychology of Ethics (Greenwich, CT: Fawcett, 1955).

¹¹Maslow, p. 49.

In order to move to a new place one must first feel secure in the old place. The person needs a place in order to be able to let it go for the next place.

Security in one's place, then, is the condition for growth. Conversely, insecurity in one's place stops growth. Maslow's conceptualization of the growth process has been expressed in terms of a hierarchy of needs. Satisfaction of lower level needs is a prerequisite to the appearance and attempt to satisfy the next higher need level. Again, the person must be satisfied and secure in one place in order to progress to the next place.¹²

Erikson's eight stages of development reflect the "normal" and "natural" changes in the individual's biopsychosocial growth cycle. But there are other changes,

¹²In his work with schizophrenic persons, R. D. Laing became aware of the basic human need of feeling secure about one's own being. Laing speaks of "ontological security" and shows how this security is necessary if the person is to relate beyond himself or herself to the outside social world. He writes: "...in the individual whose own being is secure in this primary experiential sense, relatedness with others is potentially gratifying; whereas the ontologically insecure person is preoccupied with preserving rather than gratifying himself: the ordinary circumstances of living threaten his low threshold of security. If a position of primary ontological security has been reached, the ordinary circumstances of life do not afford a perpetual threat to one's own existence. If such a basis for living has not been reached, the ordinary circumstances of everyday life constitute a continual and deadly threat." R. D. Laing, The Divided Self (New York: Pantheon, 1969), p. 44.

not inherent in the growth pattern of the human organism, which stem from external, situational disturbances. An example would be the change-impact of immigration. Erikson, an immigrant himself, has written about the immense identity crisis of the uprootedness experienced by emigrants and refugees on account of historical fate.¹³

Another "unnatural" cause of displacement prevalent in our time is the technological revolution which is changing, often in sudden and radical ways, our environment. People's life situation,¹⁴ as described by Alvin Toffler, consists of five relationships: things, places, people, organizations and ideas. When change comes on too fast and too large for the human capacity of adaptation, the basic roots of our existence are endangered and people become "displaced persons."

¹³See "Identity and Uprootedness in Our Time," in Erik Erikson, Insight and Responsibility (New York: Norton, 1964), pp. 83-107. For a sensitive and incisive historical account of the immigrant experience which made the American people see Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1951). Handlin looks at the broader meaning of this immigration experience: "Emigration took these people out of traditional, accustomed environments and replanted them in strange ground, among strangers, where strange manners prevailed. The customary modes of behavior were no longer adequate, for the problems of life were new and different. With old ties snapped, men faced the enormous compulsion of working out new relationships, new meanings to their lives, often under harsh and hostile circumstances" (p. 5).

¹⁴Note the Latin root situ, meaning place.

This is the urgency of Toffler's appeal for our times of rapid social change:

To survive, to avert what we have termed future shock, the individual must become infinitely more adaptable and capable than ever before. He must search out totally new ways to anchor himself, for all the old roots—religion, nation, community, family, or profession—are now shaking under the hurricane impact of accelerative thrust.¹⁵

Apart from the future shock changes there are the age old situational life changes which often are disruptive and traumatic in human experience. Such changes take place in bereavement, moving to another residence, change in family size, sickness, retirement, etc. Dr. Thomas Holmes, professor of psychiatry at the University of Washington in Seattle, has designed a Life Change Units Scale which assigns point values to changes that often affect people. When enough of these occur within a period of time the limits of human flexibility and adaptability may be surpassed with the disastrous result of a breakdown in the human organism.¹⁶ In terms of the relational concept of identity the human stress endured in change is related to the crisis of displacement and the challenge to manage new encounters with a new world.

Reentry for prison releasees presents one particularly dramatic instance of a crisis experience in the

¹⁵Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York: Bantam, 1971), p. 35.

¹⁶See Appendix II.

course of situational disturbances. As such its dynamics can be best understood in terms of displacement and identity.

B. The Crisis of Reentry

Leaving prison is stepping from one world into another. The transition is extremely abrupt and the distance between the two worlds - the "joint" and the "free world"- is often astronomical. Reentry as such presents a severe situational disturbance which often precipitates a profound identity crisis which the ex-convict encounters with varying degrees of success.¹⁷

The vast majority of convicts look forward to their release as a time of liberation which frees them for a fuller life with a wide and exciting world out there. This pre-release optimism often is unrealistic and a contributing

¹⁷The crisis of reentry has also been observed and described in several popular press reports on the repatriation experience of prisoners of war. See, for example, Richard Stolley, "The Reentry Crisis," Life (March 9, 1965), 98-100; "Culture Shock: Adjusting to Life Back Home," Newsweek (March 15, 1965), 30; and "One Year after Saigon's Fall-Eight ex-P.O.W's try to cope with a changing U.S.," People, November, 1975, 16-21. Another interesting example is found in the case of Cynthia Slaughter after she was deprogrammed from adherence to the totalitarian religious Moon cult. As she described her reentry experience: "The months that followed after her renunciation of and departure from the "total institution" setting of Moon's religious organization were hard. Adjusting to the outside world again was like arriving on another planet. Driving my car, balancing my checkbook, watching TV and reading books besides Moon's Divine Principle were strange. It took a long time to fill the vacuum that had been created inside me." See "To Another Planet-and Back," Time, June 14, 1976, 50.

factor in the stunning effects of the blow of the reentry impact. As John Irwin describes the process:

In spite of his optimism, preparedness, and awareness of the experiences in store for him, the disorganizing impact on the personality of moving from one meaning world into another, the desperation that emerges when he is faced with untold demands for which he is ill prepared, and the extreme loneliness that he is likely to feel, often prevent him from ever achieving equilibrium or direction on the outside. Often a sincere plan to "make it" in a relatively conventional style is never actualized because of the reentry impact. Many parolees careen and ricochet through the first weeks and finally in desperation jump parole, commit acts which will return them to prison, or retreat into their former deviant world. Many others, though they do not have their plans destroyed and do not immediately fail on parole because of the experiences which accompany their return to the outside community, have their plans, their perspectives, and their views of self altered.¹⁸

The main obstacle in adjusting from prison to society is the fact that there is no gradual process of transition. Criminologists agree that:

Ideally, the parole process should begin when an offender is first received in an institution. Information should be gathered on his entire background, and skilled staff should plan an institutional program of training and treatment. A continuous evaluation should be made of the offender's progress on the program. At the same time, trained staff should be working in the community with the offender's family and employer to develop a release plan.¹⁹

Although this may be the ideal situation on paper, in practice the evidence clearly shows that convicts become

¹⁸ John Irwin, The Felon (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 113.

¹⁹ Task Force Report: Corrections: The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967).

further alienated from the community. The closed prison society is almost totally unrelated, and needs to be for security reasons according to custodial personnel, to the fluid "free world"- society outside the gates. As was noted in a recent study on parolees in Southern California: "The parolees, in most cases, have not been rehabilitated; instead, prison has socialized them into a role which is of little use to them when they are released."²⁰

Prison, then, needs to socialize its members into specific inmate roles and codes in order to function efficiently as a total institution. The inmates often collude with the institutional goals of socialization on account of their own psychological needs.²¹ The pain of imprisonment, especially on account of separation from one's world, can be allayed by restricting one's present world to a well-defined, predictable prison routine.²²

Inmates thus, rather than getting rehabilitated closer to the outside world, socialize themselves into narrow prison roles which remove them often even further

²⁰R. J. Erickson et al., Paroled But Not Free (New York: Behavioral, 1973).

²¹See supra on the different lines of prison adaptation, pp. 34-44.

²²Reports on recent prison inmate unrest and resulting riots show that these conflicts are often caused not just by the pain of confinement itself but by sudden changes in regulations, policy or staff, which disrupt the normal routine and expectations.

from society. This alienation process explains the "gate fever" which affects many inmates just before their release. As one recent parolee expressed her ambiguous and frightened feelings about "all this freedom" when she received her release date:

First of all you're very happy that you get to go home--that's the way it hits you first. Especially when you're on a review and you don't think you are going home, then it really is a good feeling. Then, you get a kind of confused feeling--like I said, you have all this going for you here in prison, you don't have to worry about anything. I know I felt it: I have to go there and get a job, get an apartment, I have to get my car together and come up with my car insurance money--all the things you know you have to do if you are at least trying to make it. So, it's--uh--in a way it's a more scary feeling, at least a different scary feeling than when you go to jail. After you get in jail, you don't have to make any decisions or put out any effort because it's all cut and dry as to what you have to do and what you don't have to do. But going home, I think is--you go through a lot of changes when you're getting ready to go home.

The few days prior to being released from prison prove to be for most prospective parolees a nerve-racking experience. Many report sleepless nights, increased irritation with the prison routine, and informal, emotional farewell parties with fellow convicts. Some of the soon to be paroled women take much time in planning what to wear when they leave the institution and how to spend their first few days of freedom.

Especially the clothes can be very important. One woman had an outside friend and regular visitor to CIW sew a new outfit for the day of her departure from prison. We

noted how Bonnie Jones requested a special pass to leave the institution for a shopping expedition of new clothes. The clothes may express the sense of insecurity in which parolees enter society. The concern for new clothes may also express the desire for a complete break with prison and a totally new way of beginning life in the free world.

For those who have had a consistent failure experience in the free world, release from prison may be especially frightening. This is especially true of drug addicts who have experienced their identity more in the drugs than in their own personal being. As one anonymous CIW inmate and addict expressed her ambivalence about her reentry chances:

When will I begin to know
Which way to turn and where to go
Who am I? Where do I turn?
Who can I trust? Who's not a burn?
Stop being a fool, straighten up,
they say
Is the dope worth the price I'll pay?
Do I still have a heart or love left
to give?
Can I go on, can I once again live?
I search for an answer, I know
I must find
Can I be different, can I leave
"Harry" heroin behind?
God, I don't know - but I know
I must find a new me
I'll find a new life and this must be!

Once in the "free world" the ex-inmate really feels in between two worlds: the old prison identity structure is gone and the person has not made contact yet with a new social world. As such the initial reentry experience is one

of fear and loneliness. As Bonnie expressed it: "I was afraid and life to me was empty. My freedom didn't mean too much to me then,"²³ and, "You want to come home-and you don't know what you are coming to."²⁴ This is the grightening moment of having to let go of one world, without yet having a new world to take its place.

Even when ex-convicts begin to identify in the "straight world," the other "criminal" identity is still there. In a sense the person carries a dual citizenship in two totally different meaning-worlds. This is the uneasy tension of being caught in the middle of two conflicting identity-systems. Talking about these "two worlds" within her, a parolee, who was doing well in building up a new social "straight-world"-identity for herself, said:

I keep thinking about that other back half the unsocialized, criminal identity and I know the things that I've done. I'm just trying to block that out all together. You know, like when I'm with a friend now, we might go and have a few drinks, go dancing, or just stay home and talk, or whatever. But, like when I know that-hey, you got to go to work-I wake up that square side, and that's good for me. You know, I've been off into some of everything. I don't know what possessed me -- you know, when I was using on drugs and everything. I used for about six months and then I stopped and looked at myself one day. I thought: oh, bitch. what are you doing? I kicked in the street i.e., I stopped using heroin voluntarily before being arrested and incarcerated and haven't used since then. It makes me feel good that I had enough confidence in myself and enough sense to lay it down. But, well, I have to stay aware,

²³Supra, p. 149.

²⁴Supra, p. 150.

because I was so unaware when I got hooked up into it at first...I think eventually that it will, you know, like fade away. It will always be there, if I want to conjure it up, you know, to know that it could happen again at any time. It will always be there, but eventually it will kind of slide back in the past and I'll just kind of forget about it-to a point-which I'm trying to do now. Now I find myself in a different life style and this is where I want to be first.

So far, in discussing the crisis of reentry, I have concentrated on the enormous distance and disparity between the two meaning-worlds of prison and society, and the abruptness of the transition that takes place at the time of the inmate's release. An additional factor which adds to the severity of the crisis is the fact that society poses restrictions on the social acceptability and mobility of ex-convicts. As such the ex-convict often feels excluded and stigmatized as an undesirable person and social outcast. This real and sometimes partly fictional²⁵ stigma brings about a reduction in the person's life chances of making creative contacts and interactions with the outside world. The crisis of reentry can thus be prolonged into a more permanent separation from both worlds: prison and society.

Parole conditions impress the fact that parolees are in society only on a probationary trial basis. Parolees

²⁵A stigma may in part belong to the ex-convict's fictional world as a self-maintenance reentry device, i.e. by blaming personal failures and/or disappointments on society. Yet, because it is a subjectively experienced reality for the ex-convict it is a significant negative factor in the reentry process.

often remark: "Parole is like being in prison, except that they have you on a longer string." Bonnie said after her parole: "I am not a citizen. Really I am more in CIW than I am free. Right now, CIW still owns me...You make the tiniest mistake and CIW pick you up again."²⁶ Parole may be experienced as an identity structure within the prison system and thus become a barrier in the attempt to identify oneself in the free community. The teasing effect of being in the free world, yet not being allowed to be fully part of it, often causes a deep sense of frustration. This is well expressed in the novel The Riot by an angry convict:

"It's the goddamn parole system! Five times I been out on parole and every time I get out there, I gotta put up with some snooty, know-it-all College kid tellin' me how to live." He began mimicking in falsetto: "You're not to live with a woman, Mr. Kelly. You've been frequentin' barrooms, Mr. Kelly. You haven't been givin' me an itemized list of your spendin's, Mr. Kelly." His voice shifted to a snarl. "You've been driving a car. You've been seen with ex-inmates. You've been doing this. You've been doing that. If you don't behave, I'll send you back."²⁷

The threat of a parole violation and thus a return to prison is one side of the parole pressure. The other side is the stigma effect which hampers the reentry process into society. As one parolee complained:

I just think that parole makes it much harder for you when you go home. It doesn't add to your feeling of prestige to have that stigma of parole on you or the

²⁶Supra, p. 151.

²⁷Frank Elli, The Riot (New York: Coward-McCann, 1966), p. 171-2.

fact that you have been in the penitentiary-or if you have to go out and look for a job, either telling them about it and get turned down or cover up and lie. I don't think it helps-it has a very lasting effect...

This parolee's fear of exclusion from a job on account of her parolee status is supported by several studies.²⁸

A more complicated matter is the extent of the ex-convict label in informal relationships. Parolees often hide their parole condition as they fear that this will socially isolate them. Together with Lois Cannou, a CIW ex-convict and a student at a Junior College, I conducted a survey among a sample of one hundred psychology students at her school.²⁹ The questionnaire dealt with attitudes toward ex-convicts, both male and female, and opinions on crime and punishment in general. The purpose was to assess the extent and nature of ex-convict stereotypes in the social environment of a college community and also to attempt to relate this to the population at large.

Of special interest are the following results of this study. It appeared that the majority of students could not really identify and empathize with ex-offenders. At the same time the majority rejected stereotypes and said that they would go by personal association and knowledge

²⁸Irwin, pp. 135-7.

²⁹See Appendix III, for an extensive description of this project and the conclusions which can be drawn from it.

of the individual ex-convict. As far as sex-differences among ex-convicts were concerned, most students felt that men are more violent and dangerous than women. On the other hand, these same students confirmed the old stereotype that women are more dishonest and devious than men. The majority feeling also stated that female felons are better prospects for rehabilitation than male felons.

The stigma of the ex-convict label thus erects barriers, both formal and informal, which impede the re-entry process and heighten and prolong the transitional crisis of making contact with society.

C. The Life Function of Social Integration

The existential concept of the person's being-in-the-world has been developed in this chapter in terms of the identity structure of one's place-in-the-world. Social integration deals with the specific ways in which the individual self encounters and shares life in the context of society. This self-world interrelationship determines the life or death setting of human existence.

The dynamics of the self-world interrelationship provide the context for, what could be called, a "theology of health and disease." It is in terms of the ontological polarity of individualization and participation that Tillich mentions the life function of self-integration. In

self-integration "the center of self-identity is established, drawn into self-alteration and re-established with the contents of that into which it has been altered."³⁰

SELF-INTEGRATION

SELF-IDENTITY X and X OUTSIDE
WORLD

SELF-ALTERATION

Figure 2

The above illustration shows the circular movement of the self reaching out into the world, being changed, then returning to its center of self-identity. Tillich calls this the process of self-integration as it moves between the personal center and the manifoldness of the surrounding world which is taken into the self. This movement of self-integration is life in contrast to disintegration which is death. Disintegration can take place in either one of two directions:

- i) Either it is the inability to overcome a limited, stabilized and immovable centeredness, in which case there is a center, but a center which does not have

³⁰Paul Tillich, Systematic Theology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), III, 30.

a life process whose content is changed and increased; thus it approaches the death of mere self-identity. ii) Or it is the inability to return because of the dispersing power of the manifoldness, in which case there is life, but it is dispersed and weak in centeredness, and it faces the danger of losing its center altogether - the death of mere self-alteration.³¹

This view of health and disease fits the biological realm in terms of the organism's participation in its environment balanced by its resting in its own center. The same dynamics equally apply to the realm of the human psyche and spirit. With respect to the psychological self Tillich remarks:

The psychological self can be disrupted by its inability to assimilate (i.e., take into the centered unity an extensively or intensively overpowering number of impressions), or by its inability to resist the destructive impact of impressions drawing the self in too many or too contradictory directions, or by its inability under such impacts to keep particular psychological functions balanced by others.³²

In spirit the human self transcends its temporal and proximate setting and stands coram Deo, in the face of ultimate reality. In the fourth gospel we find this relational definition of eternal life: "And this is eternal life, that they know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."³³ Eternal life, rather than the greek concept of the immortal soul signifying endless existence,

³¹Tillich, III, 33.

³²Tillich, III, 37-8.

³³John 17:3

is the participation in the reality of God through the divine self-revelation in the Christ, and thus the transformation to a different quality of living, i.e. eternal life.

In the life of the spirit we note the same kind of ambiguity which Tillich describes with respect to the psychological self. The spiritual dualism of human existence is the participation in the reality of God through the divine self-revelation in the Christ, and thus the transformation to a different quality of living, i.e. eternal life.

In the life of the spirit we note the same kind of ambiguity which Tillich describes with respect to the psychological self. The spiritual dualism of human existence is the split between finite and infinite existence. With reference to Kierkegaard's famous description of "infinitude's despair," Ernest Becker defines the sickness of the personality:

...the person becomes sick by plunging into the limitless, the symbolic self becomes "fantastic" -as it does in schizophrenia - when it splits away from the body, from a dependable grounding in real experience in the everyday world."³⁴

However, the other side of death is, what could be called, "finitude's despair," which Becker describes as

....too much finitude, too much limitation by the body and the behaviors of the person in the real world, and

³⁴Ernest Becker, The Denial of Death (New York: The Free Press, 1973), p. 76.

not enough freedom of the inner self, of inner symbolic possibility. This is how we understand depressive psychosis today: as a bogging down in the demands of others - family, job, the narrow horizon of daily duties.³⁵

These two ways of death may be described in terms of either too much freedom (in terms of either psychotic or antisocial delusions by which the limits of the "law and order" structure of the real world is denied), or too much limitation (in terms of neurotic obsession with the "ought's" and "should's" of what the Apostle Paul called the "authorities, rules and dominions" of social institutions and traditions).

With respect to the reentry process we note also "two ways of death." Personal disintegration can take place either through the displacement of isolation (not being able to reach for a new place, change and grow in one's new environment), or the displacement of confusion and disorientation on account of being future-shocked and uprooted by more change than can be handled at that particular time. Reentry death can come about either by too little of the "free world" or by too much of it.

The inability to assimilate the "free world" upon release from prison is thus one possibility in the ex-convict's failure in reentry. An extreme example is present

³⁵Ibid., p. 78.

in those who have been institutionalized in prison to the extent that they have become totally, to use a new term, dehabilitated with respect to life outside the institution.

The Case of Bobbie Ferguson

Getting close to his release date from prison a state convict named Bobbie Ferguson wrote the following letter to his Iowa Governor: "I am writing you this letter to tell you that I want a life term. I have no friends, no family and no trade so I don't want to rob some one or steal I am not that kind so I am writing you for help in my matter to try to stay here for life. Thank you Bobbie." Born to a convict mother in a reformatory Bobbie Ferguson had spent most of his 39 years in an institutional setting. After each release he committed some crime-vagrancy, robbery, larceny- in order to be returned to jail. His latest prison sentence stemmed from a robbery of a service station of \$10, after which he walked across the street and waited to be arrested. As Time reported on this not all that unusual case: "Bobbie likes his fellow cons and he likes to work, mostly as a janitor. 'I think he knows us better than anybody else,' says Deputy Warden Paul Hedgepeth. 'Maybe we're the substitute for things that he lacked in life- like a family.' The attention given Bobbie may also remind people that he is articulating what many other prisoners feel but cannot express. They are terrified of the outside world and its demands, and they commit crimes -sometimes violent ones- to be returned to the security of prison. 'Bobbie's case is extreme,' says Warden Brewer, 'but you'll find his story in every prison in the country.'"³⁶

Social disintegration in the reentry process can also take place by the inability to, using Tillich's words again, "resist the destructive impact of impressions drawing the self in too many or too contradictory directions." I have called this the danger of confusion and disorientation on account of the person's over-eagerness in taking on the

³⁶Time (December 24, 1973).

"free world." Many prison inmates who look back on prior reentry failures contribute them to having taken on too much too soon at the time of their parole. Life became too "heavy" as they were overwhelmed by more new experiences and responsibilities as they could possibly handle. As such some inmates plan to pace themselves and make a deliberately slow and gradual reentry on their next release:

I am going to move very slowly at first. I'm going to look twice to see if the light is green before crossing the street. I'm not going to look for a job right away. After this 7½ years I just want to get my feet into the earth again. I have a friend who is giving me a place to stay. He has some kids and some animals. I just want to relax and learn about these things again. Then I am going to get a job, any job, a dishwashing job. I don't care what work I do, because it is going to be the leisure time that counts. I'm going to find out what I want to do with my leisure time.³⁷

A successful self-world reintegration process avoids both under-involvement and over-involvement with the new social world outside the prison walls. It promotes a gradual growth cycle by which the released person maintains a basic equilibrium between the self and the social world she participates in. This, in fact, is the main function of so-called "buffering agencies" which seek to reduce the re-entry impact by slowing the socialization process to a rate compatible with the re-integrating ability of the self at the time of release. A positive process of self-world

³⁷ Irwin, p. 112 records this taped interview, San Quentin, June 1966.

reintegration depends on personal change by which the parolee accommodates herself to new social realities, as well as social change by which society affords a gradual, growth-facilitating environment to the parolee.

The success factors for social integration for parolees are the following:

- 1) A rehabilitation - support - structure which receives this social infant in a secure and nurturing environment. It has been noted that the needs of those released from prison match Maslow's hierarchy of human needs.³⁸ At the bottom of this hierarchy are the physiological needs followed by the safety needs which deal with a sense of security and the possibility of survival in one's environment.
- 2) Next in order is the larger social setting in which the ex-offender can express the next two levels in the hierarchy, viz.: i) belongingness and love, and ii) esteem needs. Belongingness and love is related to a positive identification with significant others and with a place in a valued social in-group. Esteem needs are related to "doing well," i.e. to a sense of

³⁸Erickson et al., Ch. 4, "What Parolees Need," pp. 64-73.

self-confidence, competence, and positive achievement which is being acknowledged and appreciated by others. In our society these needs are most often fulfilled in the person's performance in school, employment or other self-expressive and creative enterprises. This leads to the top of the hierarchy which is the need for self-actualization which takes place in reference to the universal setting of humanity at large and expressed in cosmic values.

In the recent study of San Diego parolees it was found that most of their expressed needs gravitate among the lower level needs in Maslow's hierarchy.³⁹

Figure 5 shows these expressed needs emphasize the significance of a gradual growth process by which basic needs are satisfied first in order that higher needs can emerge for subsequent satisfaction. It should be noted that the San Diego sample consisted entirely of male parolees. In our discussion of female felons we noted that their needs were predominantly expressed in relation to their separation from their families. As such it would appear that female parolees would score higher in the category of "predominantly social needs" than the San Diego

³⁹Erickson et al., for Figure 2.

Figure 5
Need Response Categories for Ex-Offenders
Percentage Responding
(N=56)

Needs	%	Total %
Predominantly physical/medical needs		46
Job	12	
Money	12	
General assistance	8	
Transportation	6	
Clothes	4	
Housing	2	
Medical/Dental	2	
Predominantly social needs		27
General acceptance	16	
Friends	5	
Wife-Mate	3	
Family	3	
Predominantly psychological/personal needs		21
Self-attribute needs	16	
Harm-avoidance needs	3	
Altruistic needs	2	
Other expressed needs		6
Need nothing more	3	
Leisure	2	
Religion, parole modification and education	1	

parolees (27%).

The pressure experienced by ex-convicts in their re-entry endeavors is considerable. Starting as a "social infant" she feels that she is expected to catch up and compete with those who have an extensive head start: her "straight" sisters and brothers. Often she lacks both the social support systems and the social skills to adequately interact with the institutional structures of society. Social incompetence in most cases was the main factor in getting incarcerated and the prison experience of further self-mortification and role-confirmation as a deviant has only aggravated the situation. As a convict she has in most cases been severely socially deprived and upon reentry into society she feels society crippled on account of the ex-convict label and parole restrictions. These negative factors explain the high recidivism rate-often exceeding fifty percent-and the fact that of those who do manage to stay out of prison a considerable number appear to have retreated to their old, antisocial subculture rather than initiated a new growth experience of social integration.

Some studies, however, have stressed that an increasing number of convicts choose to radically change their life styles and devise a new course in their course in their goal orientation. Irwin found that in a sample of one hundred and sixteen ex-prisoners nineteen percent had

followed a "gleaning" course of improving themselves while in prison.⁴⁰ Some inmates seem to experience a "psychological moratorium" in prison in which they gain the momentum for a truly new start when they reenter society. In our pre-release counselling of prospective residents for the Cross-roads' halfway house we met quite a few women who had made excellent use of their time in prison. Some who were doing well in college courses had come into the institution with barely more than an eighth grade education. Others had gained significant insights concerning their own personal dynamics and value orientation and expressed hopes about new opportunities and ways to live a fuller and more meaningful life.

According to Erikson's life cycle, social integration is a developmental process by which the person gains the "virtues"⁴¹ necessary to relate to ever expanding social contexts. Hope, Will, Purpose and Competence are the rudiments of virtue in childhood, Fidelity is the adolescent virtue; and Love, Care, and Wisdom are the central virtues of adulthood. From this perspective of Erikson's moral psychology rehabilitation seeks to attain a psychosocial development in which personal "virtues" and their accompanying

⁴⁰Irwin, P. 76. For a discussion of "gleaning" at CIW see supra, p. 56-57.

⁴¹See Erik H. Erikson, "Human Strength and the Cycle of Generations," in Insight and Responsibility (New York: Norton, 1964), pp. 109-59.

social skills achieve the person's integration with an expanding world. In the context of this integration scheme Figure 6 presents a diagram of the dynamics of regressive and growth forces in the reentry process of prison parolees.

Thus rehabilitation indicates growth in social mobility determined by personal strengths in interaction and mutual interdependence with an expanding world. This is in basic agreement with the classical Darwinian doctrine of life as an evolutionary and adaptive process by which the organism maintains a state of equilibrium between itself and its environment. Health is the ability to relate to the world and be flexible and appropriate in adapting to its changing situations. Disease is the inability to relate and adapt to one's environment.

Criminal life styles express social deviance and thus deny the reality of the everyday world and renounce the limitations of the social order. A necessary aspect of the "good news" which restores life and health in this situation is the provision of a grounding experience in the real world. A reentry ministry thus is to enable parolees a setting in which to achieve a gradual social incorporation. Such a progressive movement is described in the following section on the "little steps" of social incorporation.

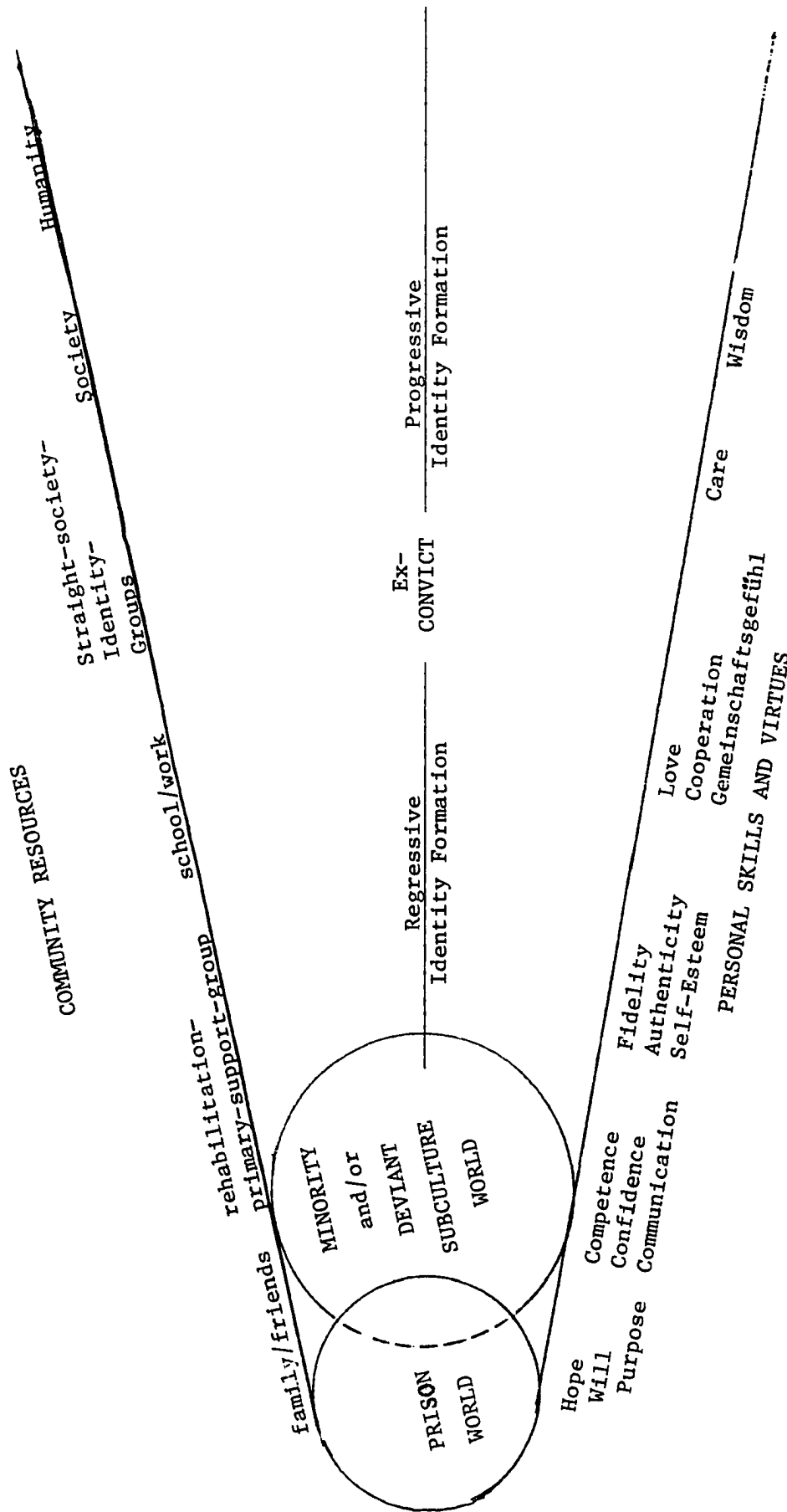


Figure 6

D. The Little Steps of Social Incorporation

Through my involvement in the Crossroads halfway house I have worked almost exclusively with felons released on parole, which is the main release procedure followed in California.⁴² Parole is being in society on a probationary trial basis. The parolee is living between pressure: from below-the threat of a return to prison in case of failure-and from above-the requirements of successfully completing parole as a condition for becoming a full-fledged member of society. Being neither part of the prison social system nor of the free community the parolee is in a lonely position of a strictly liminal and transitory nature, leading either back to incarceration in the penitentiary or to the restoration of citizenship in society. Parole has been designed for the good both of the felon and of society. Parole is to serve the dual purpose of protecting society and continuing the offender's rehabilitation which, ideally, started before leaving the institution.

As an expression of the needs of society, parole functions as an initiation rite for ex-convicts. People

⁴²There are four ways by which a prisoner may be released from a correctional institution: 1)parole, 2)conditional pardon, 3)mandatory (conditional) release, and 4) discharge. Parole is the system where prisoners are selected for release with continued supervision as they serve the remainder of their sentences within the free community.

that reenter society from prison are social transients-people without a place of belonging and fixed identity. Parole is society's initiation ritual by which releases will reveal their true identity. In the trial period of parole of parole they will either fail, thus establishing or confirming their criminal identity, or they will succeed and thereby achieve their citizen identity. In the one case they are re-incorporated into prison ("that's where they belong"), in the other case they are re-incorporated into society. Either way the identity crisis has been resolved through the initiation ritual of parole.

I referred already to Van Gennep's description of a rite of passage in discussing the prison admission procedures which marked the transition from the free world to prison.⁴³ A similar movement takes place in the reverse for parolees. We noted how Van Gennep distinguishes in a rite of passage the following three constituent elements: 1) separation, 2) transition, and 3) incorporation. The stated goals of parole are that criminals go through a similar sequence: 1) separation from society in prison, 2) while in prison a rehabilitation program followed up by parole as post-prison after-care, as defined in the agreement and conditions of parole,⁴⁴ constitutes the transition back to society, and 3)

⁴³Supra, p. 316.

⁴⁴See Appendix IV on parole stipulations according to the California Departments of Corrections.

incorporation into society by discharge of parole, and even more so by the optional course of gaining a full restoration of all the rights and privileges of citizenship inherent in a pardon.

Yet, from a realistic point of view, we have noted that prisons are more likely to socialize their convicts into institutional roles and as such prisons predominantly bring about separation. According to what we have observed in this study regarding the dynamics of parole, we can say that parole constitutes in and by itself a rite of passage which contains all three elements: separation, transition, and incorporation. Separation is the moment of displacement which was described in this chapter as "the crisis of reentry" (section B). Transition was described in terms of "the growth process of social integration" (section C). This present discussion (section D) deals with the gradual nature and final goal of this process: the "little steps" leading to social incorporation with the successful completion of parole.

The process of transition is a movement from exclusion to inclusion. One cannot stress enough the gradual nature of this process. The distance prison-society is too wide to be bridged in one single step. It takes many little steps-one at a time. It is the human growth experience which I referred to in the words of Maslow:

"Apparently growth forward customarily takes place in little steps, and each step forward is made possible by the feeling of being safe, or operating out into the unknown from a safe home port, of daring because retreat is possible."⁴⁵

Irwin has depicted this progressive movement by dividing his account of reentry into three areas:

- 1) reentry proper, dealing with the first reentry impact and the problems of "getting settled down."
- 2) "doing good," dealing with the efforts of achieving a satisfying life style once the person has settled down and
- 3) dealing with the parole-agent system.⁴⁶

When new releasees enter the free world, many of them do not seem to be aware of the long road ahead of them. They are aware of the many things they want and have to do for themselves. Many prisoners upon their release feel an urgency to deal with "unfinished business" situations which they were unable to do while in prison. As such many new parolees talk about having to "take care of business." For female felons most of these "business" matters are related to their families. It has been noted already that the cultural context for most of these women, as for most other women, is primarily family oriented. This is especially true of felons who are also mothers. Their prison experience meant a severe disruption of family ties, and thus the first

⁴⁵See Supra, p. 189.

⁴⁶Irwin, pp. 108-126

item on their agenda for parole is to "get the family together." Studies show that marital relationships deteriorate fast when one of the spouses is incarcerated.⁴⁷

This, however, is not true with the relationship of inmates to their parents and, especially in the case of mothers, to their own children.

The urgency in being reunited with their children is apparent in the fact that one of the first things for most parolees after their release is to get in contact with the social worker who has supervised the placement of their child or children. In conjunction with the Court, visiting rights and, if possible, a timetable for the eventual return of the child(ren) to the mother, has to be arranged in many cases. This process can take anywhere from a few months to one year or even longer. Before the mother can assume responsibility as a parent she needs to stabilize and situate herself.

These initial attempts towards restructuring a home environment point to the goal orientation of most women parolees. From my own personal involvement as participant-observer of women parolees in a halfway house setting I have seen a succession of "little steps" emerge in the long re-entry process. Although the following steps constitute the customary order of succession I do not imply that this is a

⁴⁷Norman Holt and Donald Miller, Explorations in Inmate-Family Relationships (Research Report #46, CDC, 1972), p. 26.

rigid order of events-a chain that cannot be broken. There are, of course, individual differences in the order of these steps as well as in the process of how smoothly and rapidly this reentry takes place. This depends both on the individual and the resources available to her in the community. Some women have maintained family ties, others have no productive natural social contacts at all, as was the case of Bonnie Jones. The following sequence of "little steps," however, present an ideal picture of the reentry process, progressively from place to place, each place becoming a stepping stone for the next one.

1. A Place to Come Home to

An acceptable release plan for prospective parolees must include suitable arrangements for a place of residence. A furnished room or apartment, although preferred by some parolees, as a rule is not considered acceptable by the Parole Board. This means that those parolees who do not have the possibility to return to their own family need a temporary home to "go home" to. A halfway house is such a temporary place of residence and the word "halfway" house expresses the preliminary nature of that first step. In that preliminary place, however, the new parolee needs to find a support basis which can sustain her in her release from prison. Without such support further progress can easily be stopped at

this vulnerable moment in the reentry process. The first two weeks of reentry prove to be crucial in determining the future course of reentry.

2. An I D for Society

All the parolees that I have seen coming from prison did not have any acceptable means of identification. While incarcerated their ID cards either expired or got lost. One soon notices that without acceptable means of identification there is little a person can do in our society. One cannot cash checks, deal with school officials, become a member at the local library, open a savings account, etc. Without an ID the parolee is placed in the embarrassing position of having to explain to strangers that she just arrived here from prison.

Another important means of identification is the person's social security number. Again, often this information is not available when the person is released. Without it the person cannot be employed, be enrolled in school or vocational programs, apply for financial aid programs, etc.

These means of identification are the entree to the whole network of functional operations of society. For the parolee it often means even more: she gains not only access to society but a growing sense of personal identity and belonging in society.

3. A Program

In order to get paroled the inmate needs a rather

specific release program including both a place of residence and a work and/or study program. The prospective parolee is being told that: "Experience has shown that most of the women who are succeeding on parole are regularly employed or involved in school or training programs preparing for employment."⁴⁸

A program, whether academic, vocational, and/or a job, is necessary for moving from the dependency position of institutionalization to growing self-sufficiency and autonomy in the free world. School or employment also becomes a place for personal identification. The person takes on the identity as an "employee" or as a "student." This was evident with Bonnie Jones wearing the college emblem as a sign of her college student identity.

A parolee who is unsuccessful in getting into a worthwhile work-program is soon demoralized as a person. Without the support of a new identity in society she will often tend to blame society for stigmatizing and excluding her as an ex-convict.

A 50 years old parolee with good secretarial skills, applied for a position at a retirement community called "Pilgrim Place." A few weeks after the interview she received the following letter:

Dear Ms. Smith:

Although the secretarial position in our campaign office has been filled, we do want to thank you for your interest and for taking time to visit us for an

⁴⁸See Appendix V for the California Department of Corrections' Guidelines for Completing parole and Leading to Discharge.

interview. We are retaining your resume in our file, and will communicate with you if a suitable vacancy occurs.
Best wishes.....

Cynically the parolee called the letter "your laugh for the day," and scribbled the following comment under the letter:

Which, when translated, means: "Sorry, Charlie, Pilgrim Place only hires good upstanding citizens whose ancestors came over on the Mayflower!"

4. Financial and Medical Security

During their time of institutionalization in prison, inmates lose their freedom but gain considerable security. The paradoxical reality of freedom is the necessity to have to take care of oneself once paroled. One of the most stabilizing aspects in parole is a steady income (whether by employment, social agency support, study grants and/or loans, etc.). Medical insurance, such as Medi-Cal in California, is an absolute necessity.⁴⁹ All these financial arrangements take considerable time and efforts. Yet, without financial security the parolee easily slips back into her old life style when the pressure of unpaid bills leads to an overwhelming problem situation.

One woman spent her first month of parole studying at a skill practice center to prepare herself for an entrance examination for a vocational training program. As she was not yet a regular student, nor was eligible for other social assistance programs such as the

⁴⁹ During the first year of Crossroads' operation as a halfway house, 20% of the women parolees needed hospitalization. Bonnie Jones' medical bills came to c.\$2000.

Vocational Rehabilitation Program, there was no source of income for her. This woman became increasingly anxious seeing her slim resources (the CIW release receives \$200 on leaving the institution) disappear without prospects of new income. Living at Crossroads' halfway house she received free room and board. She became part-time employed in housecleaning and in this way gained some minimal income to manage her other expenses. She started with her training program but on account of late enrollment she did not become eligible for financial assistance through the school. Eventually she dropped out of her studies, and, having exceeded her maximum stay at the halfway house, she returned to her old neighborhood in Los Angeles and her old pattern of odd jobs for the sake of survival, giving up on her original vocational goals of her release program.

A significant moment occurs when the paroled person can go to the bank to open a savings account. The little book that the person receives is more than the record of one's account; it becomes another credential of belonging to society. A "bank account," and a little book to prove it, amounts to further confirmation of the parolee's new identity as a "straight" person.

5. Transportation

The one single thing that many prospective parolees often talk most about is getting a car. The car in North American culture is more than a technological means of transportation. The car is a symbol of freedom, power, individuality, social status and personal identity. The car is a home for our mobile society. The penitentiary is the antonym to all these concepts. The most powerful symbol of having made it from prison to the freeworld is

for many parolees expressed in the whole mystique as well as the functional aspects of mobility provided by the automobile.

Perhaps in an effort to protect the novice parolee from being overwhelmed by too much freedom (and too many bills), parole agents as a rule advise, sometimes stipulate, against acquiring a car during the initial period of parole. Later the car can become a significant step in re-integrating into a mobile society.

6. One's Own Place of Residence

We noted already that an acceptable release plan for prospective parolees must include suitable family or home arrangements. This means that many parolees start with a temporary place of residence (with relatives, friend or halfway house arrangement), only to move out on their own when better prepared to do so. Ideally ~~the~~ parolee has taken sufficient little steps on her way to self-sufficiency and developed enough of her own psychological support system, to be able to make this momentous move of moving.

In the halfway house setting people are aware of the temporary, interim housing condition and early start thinking and planning for their next move. Sometimes this thought, of having to move again, causes a sense of insecurity and a desire to keep contact. Bonnie Jones, talking about that future step of leaving the halfway house

community, said: "You know, when I move, it won't be far. I want to be able to walk over to this place. You know, you are the only family I've got."

If the parolee is a mother of a minor child or children, this step, of moving to one's own place, often coincides with the woman's major goal of release orientation, i.e. being able to re-unite as family. Such a mother parolee must have attained sufficient financial security and a stable social network to sustain her in this move not just to a new place of residence but to an entirely new structure of existence which poses heavy social responsibilities.

7. Vocational Fulfillment

Already in prison many women seem to be primarily concerned about better vocational prospects. Those women who want to return to their children know that they will have to function in most cases as single parents and as such they will need good jobs in order to support their families. Especially women who have experienced the pain of exploitation and dependency, or those who feel the pain of wasted time and opportunities, look often at vocational careers for their own personal liberation and fulfillment. "I am living for the day that that little name plate with my name and title -Mattie Hill, Food Administrator- will be on my door" says a 46 year old three-termer and parole candidate, as she discussed with me her plans of getting

an A.A. degree in nutritional science. Bonnie Jones talked about the day she would get her L.V.N pin: "that day I will be free."

8. Discharge and Restoration

The person that follows the parole conditions becomes eligible after a certain period of time, in most cases approximately one year, for discharge. A discharge is largely a negative concept. It focuses on the termination of the parole conditions of supervision.

There is also a more positive concept and procedure. It is the restoration of all the rights and privileges of full citizenship. This is the process of earning a full pardon. It is signified by a Certificate of Rehabilitation. This certificate not only attests to the person's rehabilitation success but also wipes out effectively the person's past so that her former conviction will no longer count against her.

In the case of a discharge, a Governor appointed panel makes the decision and a notice to that effect is sent to the discharged parolee. A pat on the shoulder from the parole agent may be the only social acknowledgement of that tremendous occasion. It is different with a pardon. A pardon affords an official and public occasion in which the ritual element of incorporation is celebrated. The Senator with some staff members, the parole agent,

vocational supervisor and/or other invited guests, in a formal and festive occasion, with a speech from the Senator and the gift of the official Certificate of Rehabilitation, mark this initiation rite into full citizenship.

The prospect of a full pardon is significant to the parolee. It holds out the hope of a day when the past is sealed and thus no longer a threatening reality. It is the signal of new life-not just being tolerated but belonging to society as a first-class citizen. Even though the actual process of securing the certificate is often long (three years, plus an additional 30 days for each year of the maximum term for the crime of which the person was convicted), it has eschatological power in sustaining parolees through the long and often lonely days of their rehabilitation endeavors.

CONCLUSION

This chapter on the "promises and pains of reentry" has focused on the crisis experience of the social and spiritual displacement-experience present in the prison- and parole-career of women in correlation with the rehabilitation-program of providing places in the gradual growth-process of social integration and incorporation. Previously I have defined pastoral care in the general terms of "preparing a place" for those who have none. The

rehabilitation-process described in this chapter has also been focused on places.

In this particular context, a place connotes a point of contact where the interaction between the self and the outside world takes "place." According to this chapter's analysis of life-and death-processes each human being needs a stable, predictable and centered place for the proper life-function of self-integration. At the same time this place is not a static life-position but, rather, is dynamically related to a sequence of places which can be described as stepping stones in a growth process. The eight "little steps of social incorporation" present such a sequence of growth-places.

Each place represents a point of contact with a particular world. Moving through a progressive sequence of "growth places" thus facilitates the person in the process of expanding consciousness. In Chapter II I noted the curious relationship between "earthly places" and "heavenly places" in the biblical history of salvation and the church's ministry of pastoral care. The sequence of "little steps" concentrates on "here and now"-places. At the same time it is to be emphasized that these "little steps" are necessary for the human person to get beyond the merely "here and now"-places of this world. Through a growth sequence of places, the individual can identify himself

or herself within an expanding life-context, both horizontal and vertical in dimension, in the human struggle for personal significance and meaning in life.

Chapter V

TOWARD A REENTRY MINISTRY FOR WOMEN PAROLEES

A. Halfway House in Historical Perspective

The halfway-house concept is often blurred and confused on account of the great variety of different situations to which the term "halfway house" is applied. The original purpose of the "halfway house" is to serve as a buffering agency in slowing down the reentry impact. As such halfway houses are used not just for ex-prisoners but also for ex-patients of mental hospitals who return to the community, often with a similar need for a support structure from which to encounter the outside world and the adverse effects of a social stigma.

At present halfway houses have infiltrated the entire scope of the criminal justice and correctional system and are not limited to strictly reentry services for parolees. Because of the different ways in which halfway houses are presently being utilized it is helpful to know the historical background of the emergence and development of halfway houses.

Often a prison riot becomes the point of departure for creative thinking and new approaches in criminal justice

and corrections. This is true of Attica in our time, and about 150 years ago that was the way the concept of a halfway house was born in America. After a major riot in the Massachusetts State Prison at Charlestown in 1816, a legislative commission urged, among other things, the creation of a new program of residential after-care for releasees. It proposed:

...a building to be erected of wood, at a small expense, as it is only recommended by way of experiment. The convicts who are discharged are often entirely destitute. The natural prejudice against them is so strong, that they find great difficulty in obtaining employment. They are forced to seek shelter in the lowest receptacles; and if they wish to lead a new course of life, are easily persuaded out of it, and perhaps driven to necessity to the commission of fresh crimes. It is intended to afford a temporary shelter in this building, if they choose to accept it, to such discharged convicts as may have conducted themselves well in prison, subject to such regulations as the directors may see fit to provide. They will here have a lodging, rations from the prison at a cheap rate, and have a chance to occupy themselves in their trade, until some opportunity offers of placing themselves where they can gain a honest livelihood in society. A refuge of this kind, to this destitute class, would be found, perhaps, humane and politic.¹

It took, however, more than forty years before the first halfway house (interestingly enough for female offenders) was opened in Boston and operated there for some twenty years without much public notice or impact. At that same time the Quakers established a halfway house in New York,

¹Edwin Powers, "Halfway Houses: An Historical Perspective," American Journal of Corrections (July-August 1959), 20.

the Isaac T. Hopper House, which has remained in operation to this day.

A significant halfway house movement, however, did not start until the efforts of Maude Booth in establishing "Hope Hall" in New York City in 1896. She was a religious volunteer worker inside the major prisons of her time. On account of that experience she began to see the use of continuing to work with convicts at the critical time following their release. With the Volunteers of America, Maude Booth expanded the reentry services to a nationwide network of halfway houses which became well accepted by the correctional establishment and functioned for nearly forty years.

It is difficult to learn much about the early halfway-house movement. Its end came quite suddenly and virtually no significant materials on primary objectives and mode of operation were left. We know this much:²

1. The halfway-house movement was started by concerned lay people outside the correctional establishment. There was a strong humanitarian and religious fervor to these efforts as carried on by such organizations as the Quakers, the Salvation Army, and the Volunteers of America.

²Gerald A. Collins, Community Residential Treatment Centers (Lincoln, NE: Contact, 1976).

The houses were founded by charity and by the slim resources of prisoners themselves.

2. The reentry services were primarily focused on, what we have called in Maslowian terms, the basic-needs level - such as food, shelter and employment assistance.
3. Rather than being treatment facilities the houses stressed the person's goal orientation and self-control with respect to antisocial behavior such as excessive drinking. The basic requirement was that each person be sincerely determined to do what was right.
4. The only community resource that was utilized consisted of employment opportunities. While it was very difficult to find jobs, these halfway houses had managed to compile some sort of a job bank of employers who were willing to hire ex-prisoners.

The sudden demise of this early halfway house movement has been mainly attributed to the emergence of the new correctional approaches of probation and parole at that time. After nearly twenty years of their absence however, halfway houses suddenly appeared again in the 1950's. This may well have been on account of the limited impact and scope of probation and parole programs, which left many

of the old problems untouched. Especially the parole program has been severely limited in personnel and resources to do an adequate job in aftercare for ex-prisoners.

The present halfway house movement is unique in more than one way. First we notice the distinction between public-agency halfway houses and the continuation of the privately-operated halfway houses. Both branches of the halfway house movement have become involved with the correctional establishment and influence the course of the criminal justice system in profound ways. Indeed, some herald the modern halfway house movement as the twentieth-century's unique contribution to the revolutionary progress in criminal justice and corrections in America: the alternative to imprisonment: Community Residential Treatment Centres.

The outstanding characteristic of modern halfway houses is that they have become much wider in scope than the traditional reentry focus for ex-prisoners. As Collins describes this new trend of halfway houses:

They moved outside what is commonly called correction's "piece of the action," prisons, parole and probation, and entered the system post-arrest, but pre-trial, and often without a corrections component. In some highly specialised programs such as those focussing upon drug abusers and runaway youth, the halfway house seems to be operating as a preventative to criminal behavior.³

One wonders whether this new direction, significant as it may be, has moved beyond the basic halfway-house

³Collins, p. 9.

concept. The public-agency halfway house has become known under a number of different names such as: pre-release guidance center, work-furlough home, community treatment center and community based program.

The old halfway house tradition was revived with the house which was started in Chicago in 1954 under the name St. Leonard's. Like the earlier houses, St. Leonard was an expression of religious concern and fervor. Its founder Rev. James G. Jones, an Episcopal priest who had been chaplain at the Cook County Jail, was deeply committed to provide an opportunity for healing and change in the lives of ex-prisoners. Jones and his co-workers, however, were no pietists. They considered their ministry in terms of functioning as finders and developers of social services for released prisoners. As such St. Leonard's program was intimately related to and dependent upon community resources such as employment offices, public welfare agencies, treatment assistance programs for socially and physically handicapped persons, medical clinics, vocational training programs, etc.

The old "halfway house" tradition became an ideological battle for another famous halfway house of that time. In 1959 a Jesuit priest, Dismas Clark, known as the "Hoodlum Priest," established a halfway house in St. Louis. Again the religious emphasis and character is very noticeable in this instance.

Clark felt strongly for privately-operated halfway houses and resisted involvement with the corrections establishment. He emphasized the old orthodox position in the history of halfway house, that a halfway house is primarily to provide reentry services for release prisoners. This emphasis was in opposition to the corrections establishment's move into the whole field of halfway houses and its efforts to expand its scope so as to include prisoners near to release (90 to 120 days) for work release programs, to residential programs for probationers, pre-trial detentioners, and recently, pre-indictment diversioners.

Privately operated houses have expanded both in number and in scope following the model of public agency houses. Many of these houses have coordinated their efforts through the International Halfway House Association (IHHA),⁴ which has been a main factor in their ability to infiltrate and influence national corrections policy. IHHA is a volunteer association of agencies and individuals involved in Community based corrections, alcoholism and drug programs, programs for delinquent and dependent youth, and programs for the mentally ill and mentally retarded. The association intends to be a focal point where the public and private

⁴For further information one can contact the IHHA National Office, 2525 Victory Parkway, Suite 101, Cincinnati, OH 45206.

sectors can address issues related to social policies and programs. It provides a forum for its members to exchange ideas and information about treatment, research and administration. It does so by publishing a news-letter and handbooks, by conducting workshops, training seminars and conferences, and by providing consultant services and research, and treatment councils to assist members in designing and operating viable programs.

Even though private halfway houses and public-agency houses have been shaped by their mutual interaction, there remain significant differences between the two categories. As Collins has summarized the current picture at the end of 1975:

At present the private houses are more numerous than those operated by the States or the federal system. They are probably more individualistic, varying considerably in program scope and sophistication. The non-private centers tend to fill the middle ranges with few of them offering the constellation of services available in the best of the private houses, and even fewer as limited as the marginal private operations. The reason for this growing difference may well be that states and the federal system must create and maintain a composite design which fits a number of communities, cities, or states, and the variety of cultures, economic conditions and resource networks those localities offer; The private house usually tailors its program to the specifics of a single locale.⁵

B. A Case Study of the Establishment of one Private House

In October, 1974, my wife Myra and I accepted the

⁵Collins, p. 15.

position as supervisors of the private organization, Crossroads, Inc., which intended to initiate a halfway house for women parolees. At that time it was entirely a paper project. We did not have a house, prospective residents, or contact with active support structures. Our experience with Crossroads thus afforded an opportunity to witness and actively participate in the birth and subsequent development of a private halfway house.

The house was first conceived by a group of volunteers involved in a community based prison visitation program by the name of M-2 Sponsors. These community people expressed their interest in a halfway-house outreach program in a letter, dated April 12, 1973, which was sent to other prison visitors. This letter stated:

We have discovered as we become more involved in prison visiting that many of these men and women have no friends to help them on the outside. They are frequently released on parole with little money and very dim prospects of a good future.

This letter invited the prison visitors to a public meeting in order to discuss the possibilities of "establishing resident homes to strengthen and uplift them [parolees] into a better way of life." The proposed meeting took place on April 24, 1973, with a total of 18 local churches represented. The majority of these prison visitors were actively involved in their own churches and considered their prison work an expression of their spiritual sense of responsibility.

During the fall of 1973 a Board of Directors consisting of 10 persons was constituted. The Board decided to incorporate as a non-profit organization under the name of Crossroads, Incorporated. This name already spelled out some of the basic philosophy and concept of the intended halfway house ministry. As the House Program Committee elaborated on the name Crossroads:⁶

1. This name is simple. It suggests decision.
2. Crossroads is not a place to settle in or become dependent, but a place from which to go on.
3. Crossroads is not the beginning or end of a journey, but rather a place in the midst. It is a place to stop and consider.
4. Time at the Crossroads is crucial time, a time that will determine the future. Therefore, it presents a challenge to the person who stops there.
5. A sign at the crossroads spells out where the roads lead, but does not make the decision for the person seeking guidance. As guides at the Crossroads, Christians will also point out the roads, but the decision will be up to the person staying there.
6. If a resident at Crossroads should make a wrong decision and later sees his/her error, that person will go back to Crossroads at least in thought and remember what was learned there. Time spent at Crossroads will never be wasted.

During that time the Board also started to look at possible sites for a halfway house and thus get acquainted with the requirements of establishing and operating a halfway house. The board decided to begin with a house for women

⁶ Minutes of Crossroads Board Meeting, December 9, 1973.

parolees and visualized such a house in the following "Statement of Purpose:"

The halfway house is to be an intermediate step back into society for women who have been incarcerated in State Penal Institutions in this immediate area i.e., around the men's and women's institutions at Chino, California . It will be designed to offer the following services in this priority:

- 1) Temporary housing until permanent housing is arranged.
 - 2) Meals during the limited stay.
 - 3) Job procurement assistance.
 - 4) Formal and informal counseling and guidance from professionals in the community who will be enlisted to volunteer services.
 - 5) Educational opportunities which will enhance the ease of re-entering society (such things as handling job interviews, personal grooming, filling out questionnaires and applications, etc.).
- In accord with the above, it may be considered both a Rehabilitation Center and an Educational Center.

When we accepted the position of supervisors in October, 1974, the Board's next agenda item was to obtain a house, inform women inmates at CIW regarding our reentry services, and begin operation. At that point, though, we began to learn the intricacies of establishing a halfway house. On account of subsequent experiences our halfway-house concept was gradually modified as to its purpose and way of operation. As such the house's history explains Crossroads' eventual philosophy and practice of its reentry ministry.

During the first two months of being with Crossroads we were mainly involved in promotional and exploratory activities. We met with church leaders and groups, with prison visitors, with the chaplain and other staff at CIW,

and with parole agents. We prepared informational literature and guidelines for operation for the proposed halfway house. In December of 1974 we began to look in earnest at homes for the purpose of locating and purchasing facilities for the halfway-house operation. The Board intended to procure a house large enough to accommodate at least twelve women parolees. We needed a house with at least nine bedrooms (for residents and the live-in supervisor couple and their children), four bathrooms, some spacious places for kitchen, dining, living and recreation areas and an office. It is obvious that the possibilities for such a large house with such specific facilities, are limited.

The first house that seemed adequate for our purposes was located in a heavily populated residential area in Montclair, California. The house was used as a boarding place for adult mentally handicapped women. Through the years the house had been physically expanded and modified in order to accommodate new residents and conform to the stipulations of health and fire inspection codes. In the course of our efforts to acquire this particular property we encountered all kinds of serious problems which, as we discovered later, are the typical difficulties generally associated with establishing a halfway house.⁷

⁷See for instance B. Allen et al., "A Neighborhood Reaction to the Establishment of a Halfway House." Department of Corrections, Research Report #44 (May 1972).

The basic tenet of a halfway house is that it is to facilitate ex-prisoners in making the transition from prison to productive community living. As such the halfway house is not to continue the institutional way of life of the prison but is to be part of the free community. The problem, however, is whether the community is ready to welcome a halfway house in its neighborhood. The word "halfway house" is a scare word for many. Also the word "halfway house" has been indiscriminately employed for all kinds of different situations and has often been remembered by the more negative experiences. As has been noted:

One of the problems with halfway houses in general is that the public sees each halfway house as one and the same, whether it is a halfway house for mentally retarded, alcoholics or ex-offenders and operated by three different agencies. The halfway house to the public is a halfway house. Whether it is run by professionals or somebody who just decided overnight that they want to operate a house.⁸

The house in Montclair was excellent in its physical facilities but presented many problems in relation to the neighborhood. As prospective supervisors of the house we canvassed the immediate neighborhood (within a radius of c.300 yards around the house), and conducted two "open house" meetings at which times we explained our plans and reentry program. With the neighbors we encountered much hostility

⁸ Parker Evatt and John A. Brown, Community Residential Treatment Centers - Facilities, IHHA, CT-512, p. 8.

against the present owners who had operated the house for adult mentally retarded persons. That project had started very slowly and gradually the number of residents had increased to the point that it had become a rather large group home. The neighborhood had never had the opportunity to express their wishes in this matter. Now with the proposed sale of the house to Crossroads we had to file a petition for a conditional use permit.⁹ This procedure would include public hearings. With the neighborhood already upset about the current operation as boarding house for the mentally retarded, and the additional information that we would have ex-prisoners as boarders, we ran into almost total neighborhood resistance. This was a tightly knit neighborhood consisting mostly of older, low-middle class people who had tied up most of their financial resources in their homes. Also it was an all-white neighborhood with much apprehension about a chicano high-crime area adjacent to this community. We also heard these people complain about recent attempts of blacks to move into their neighborhood, trying to "bust the block." As such we could anticipate serious problems for us operating an integrated reentry program in that particular neighborhood. On account of these problems with the

⁹In any residential area a halfway house would probably need a variance in the zoning ordinance. Without community support there is little chance of obtaining approval.

neighbors our application for a conditional use permit from the city of Montclair had been delayed. The owners of the house, apparently intimidated by the neighborhood resistance, decided against a further extension for the closure of escrow. This marked the end of this particular site for our reentry program.

At that time we as Crossroads supervisors of a prospective halfway house had begun to visit CIW on a regular basis in order to make contacts and inform inmates about our reentry assistance program. We had not anticipated the serious setbacks in procuring a house and thus were already inviting applications from interested people for residency before we actually had a house available. As an emergency measure we rented a house big enough to accommodate not more than two parolees in addition to our family of six people. With this limited operation we did not need a permit and before long we had rented a five bedroom house. In February, 1975, we began this limited halfway-house operation with our first parolee resident.

During this stage of our development we became aware of other significant factors in the establishment of a halfway house. Not only did we experience great difficulties in obtaining a house, we also had problems in obtaining applications of prospective residents to live in the house. It became apparent that many inmates had

negative concepts concerning halfway houses.¹⁰ When we visited existing halfway houses for ex-prisoners we noticed that the majority of these houses were run as institutions and that they were often located in dilapidated facilities in high-crime, inner-city areas. Many women who were paroled to these houses did so on account of a severe deprivation in adequate release programs and support resources. According to the inmates' opinions in the prison, the recidivism rate in these houses appeared to be high. In addition, some of these houses functioned as emergency units for alcoholics or drug addicts, which further contaminated the image of the halfway house as a treatment center for helpless and sick people.

In order to reach prospective parolees who could benefit by our reentry services, we needed to work from inside the prison to set up release programs in conjunction with the expressed needs of inmates. In the month of March of that year Myra and I came to CIW twice each week in order to meet with groups of inmates and build relationships with staff counselors and case managers. Also I became involved in chaplaincy services, such as conducting Sunday worship services for inmates and participating in the Clinical

¹⁰ Note Bonnie Jones' initial reaction against the concept of a halfway house: "I went to Peter and he told me about Crossroads. I thought it was like another halfway house and I was immediately turned off." Supra, p. 143.

Pastoral Education program. As such we became increasingly acquainted with inmates, and prison existence and needs in general. In this way Crossroads became known and personalized in our presence on campus.

During that time in April, 1975, I wrote a short position paper for the Board of Directors of Crossroads based on our new exposure to the prison and the pre-release counseling needs which we had encountered. This preliminary report shows the outline of the new direction in which Crossroads' reentry ministry developed. It stated five basic principles:

1. An approach of openness and respect for the prospective residents and their needs, rather than pushing a ready-made program on them.
2. A family environment. This certainly is not what people expect to see in a halfway house. Yet this setting responds to the needs of belonging to a family, especially for those whose old family ties do not adequately function.
3. A place which specializes in vocational and educational goal orientation and development.
4. A self-help program. Rather than just residents being served, Crossroads can be a setting for residents to serve themselves and others as they

take a responsible role in the overall programming of the house and in outside promotional and prison preventative programs.

5. A community-awareness program. Crossroads can put together a reentry kit of a variety of community resources regarding education, financial support, medical services (most medical doctors will not serve Medi-Cal patients), employment, housing, recreation, etc., in order to facilitate parolees in their socialization process.

At this time we had become better prepared for our next attempt at purchasing¹¹ a halfway house. In order to operate a de-institutionalized, family type of home we looked for a house large enough for a maximum of six parolees in addition to the supervisor couple and their children. Our eyes were on an older home in so-called "historical Claremont," an old residential section of a college community.

¹¹Evatt and Brown (p. 4) present a good argument for the superiority of purchasing: "I think it would be foolish to rent and some people might disagree. In terms of a halfway house, I feel that you are putting time and effort in selling a program to the community, and if you are renting and someone else can pay a higher rent, or they want to change or move the building, the whole program is destroyed and you have got to start all over again. You have to identify all over again to another community, and many times it might be on the other side of town.

Almost all houses of the size of a halfway house are the older homes. Some halfway houses are located in buildings previously operated as hotels or motels. A home is to be preferred to these commercial facilities if one wants to emphasize a family and community atmosphere.

Keeping in mind the lessons we learned in Montclair, we looked very carefully at the neighborhood. Our chosen site in Claremont seemed ideal. The neighborhood was not heavily populated and thus afforded a measure of privacy. As a college community the neighborhood was constituted by people of diverse backgrounds and with some racial integration. Also we hoped that the educational setting would be characterized by attitudes of greater openmindedness and social concern. The house itself was located in a residential area, yet also on the fringe of a business area. As such there was a sense of community without being overly restricted by residential concerns. Public transportation and other community services were readily available. The Claremont City Department of Planning and Community Development made the following recommendation to the Planning Commission which was to approve the conditional use permit: From the basic locational criteria that this department uses to review a request such as this, it appears that the geographical location with respect to the School of Theology, the availability of rapid transit, the proximity

to shopping and other community services, and the relationship to other uses immediately adjacent, we feel that in concept that this particular use could function appropriately at the site requested, providing the internal management and supervision is sufficient to avoid various social spin-off problems that could emanate from this use. The Chief of Police and I both share this concern. Accordingly, it is the staff recommendation at this time that this proposal be referred to the Human Resources Commission for a recommendation.

This department has no hesitation to recommend approval of this use in this location. The only hesitation is with respect to the particular applicant's ability to carry out the function proposed in this location. This hesitation has resulted in the above recommendation.

This recommendation indicated the basic problem area related to our application. The main concern was related to the social impact of the proposed halfway house on the neighborhood. This concern was compounded by the fact that "historical Claremont" is committed to a firm course of maintaining a quiet residential character. A halfway house, a house of transients, it was feared, could easily, in a "fragile" fringe area, become a turning point for the neighborhood at large.

The criterion cited by the Department of Planning

and Community Development was the ability of the prospective supervisors of the house to run a responsible and efficient operation which would prevent neighborhood deterioration. The Claremont Planning Commission accepted the recommendation that the Human Resources Commission check into Crossroads' competence, especially as it related to the supervisors. After a thorough investigation, including police checks into our background, the Human Resources Commission on May 5, 1975, unanimously decided to recommend that the Planning Commission approve a conditional use permit for Crossroads. The next day, May 6, 1975, the Planning Commission, however, decided by a 3 to 2 vote against granting the conditional use permit. The emphasis on the decisive criterion had shifted from the house itself to community attitudes. Quite unexpectedly to us, a list of 52 names of neighborhood people petitioning against the conditional use permit, was presented at the meeting of the Planning Commission. This group had retained a lawyer to state their case against Crossroads. One of the Commission members, in elaborating on her negative vote, well summarized the case against Crossroads:

Mrs. P. observed, it was with a great deal of sadness, and hours of thinking and talking with people, that she finds it difficult to vote against this. There are many people trying to help other people and the need is tremendous. However, we have been asked to look at the program and where it will be located, the effect on that neighborhood and the citizens of Claremont. She feels the fears the neighbors have expressed cannot help but have an adverse effect on the neighborhood. She has spoken to a number of people in that neighborhood, and they have indicated that they will consider

moving out, and would be afraid of what would happen to their homes. We are considering the historical Claremont area, and this is a fragile area...¹²

Most experts agree that if a community does not want you to move in as a halfway house, you better stay out.¹³

The reason that we decided to appeal the Planning Commission's decision to the City Council was exactly on account of rather than in spite of the community: we felt that the petition of 52 names was not representative of the community. Many of these signatures were the product of the solicitation of one person, and came from outside the immediate neighborhood. Also after the negative Planning Commission decision there was a spontaneous response from people in the community who urged us to continue our efforts. Some of these people started petition drives on their own which resulted in 678 signatures in support of the halfway-house project, with 106 signatures designated as being located in the immediate neighborhood. The local newspaper wrote an informative and sympathetic article on Crossroads' program and staff. An editorial in the same paper called the Planning Commission's

¹²Minutes of the Claremont Planning Commission (May 6, 1975), p. 4.

¹³"This is what keeps many halfway houses out of communities when they felt they had a good location, good home, but the people did not want them. I feel if you come into a situation where the community really does not want you, you should not go there, because if anything happens in that community, you will be blamed for it. It may not be bad for your agency, but it hurts the residents in the program." Evatt and Brown, p. 9.

decision "one of the strangest and most wretched decisions in recent months,"¹⁴

At the City Council meeting on May 27, 1975, there was an impressive representation of the Claremont community to defend the proposed halfway house. The local Council of Churches as well as the majority of the individual churches had sent in letters of support. Twenty-one people, each representing significant community groups and concerns, addressed City Council in favor of the project. The opposition was also represented but looked almost negligible in comparison. Their list of petitions had increased from 52 to 68 signatures. Four people from the neighborhood addressed the Council to voice their objections.

The outcome was City Council's unanimous vote in favor of a conditional use permit. The conditions carefully stipulated that any resulting neighborhood deterioration on account of the halfway house operation would result in revocation of the permit. There would be annual reviews of the project, and whenever there would be any change in supervision and/or ownership a similar review would take place.

On June 15, 1976, the Claremont Planning Commission reviewed the Crossroads' house and program. It was noted that, based on reports from the Police Department and the

¹⁴Claremont Courier (May 24, 1975).

Human Resources Department, "all conditions of approval have been met and there have not been any problems or complaints resulting from the use of the facility."¹⁵ In this year of operation Crossroads had become well accepted in the neighborhood and community support and involvement had steadily increased.

This "case study" of the beginnings and development of Crossroads' halfway house program for women parolees could be summarized by the following observations:

1. Crossroads represents the old halfway house tradition of a specific and narrow emphasis on reentry of ex-prisoners into the free community.
2. This same tradition is apparent in the fact that Crossroads found its origin in the work of prison visitation volunteer from the community. Furthermore, this volunteer service was religiously inspired and as such was considered a "Christian ministry" which drew support from a growing involvement of local churches.
3. Community support stands out as the key criterion for the success of a halfway house. The difference between the Montclair and Claremont venture,

¹⁵ Agenda Item 3E Claremont Planning Commission (June 15, 1976).

as well as the difference between the Claremont Planning Commission and the City Council decision, comes down to the measure of community support.

4. The need for a prison-based program is emphasized. Such a program is expressed in pre-release screening and counseling contact and involvement as a basis for succeeding reentry assistance.
5. Crossroads' program is characteristic of a truly private house - with the ability and flexibility of tailoring its program to specific local resources and criteria.
6. The emphasis is on a small, home type operation rather than a more institutional approach.
7. The history of Crossroads' development shows an increasing need for a stable organization, trained staff with the ability to operate an efficient house, and the willingness to be scrutinized by and conform to license standards.

C. The Operation of a Reentry Program for Women Parolees

In the process of establishing and operating Crossroads we noticed in the reentry program three phases which can be distinguished for analysis, but which in actual practice are closely interrelated and interdependent.

These three phases correlate with the three places which describe the movement of the reentry process: 1) prison, 2) halfway house, and 3) the free community. This section will describe in more detail each phase.

1. The Pre-Release Program in Prison. As already noted, at first we had the illusion that we could concentrate on the halfway house program as such and just advertise our reentry services to the inmate population. However, we soon discovered that the inmates often felt suspicious about halfway houses, and for good reasons. There is a great variety of halfway houses: institutional type of government establishments, inner-city houses with severe drug and crime problems, aggressively religious indoctrination centers, as well as many assorted home type of operations. As such there was not a single response when we merely informed the prison population about our halfway house through the daily newsletter and bulletin boards at CIW.

On account of this failure in contacting prospective residents we increasingly emphasized personal involvement at the prison itself. By means of my involvement in the Clinical Pastoral Education program and other chaplaincy services, I began to work with individuals and groups of inmates who were in the process of orientating themselves in terms of the outside world and who saw me as a resource

person in this respect. This point of contact eventually led people to apply for our residency program.

Once there were applicants we were faced with the question of admission policy. In order to run a specific program it is necessary to relate program resources to the kinds of parolees who would stand to benefit most by these services. For instance, some inmates' needs appeared to be mainly in the area of drug addiction. As such a specific drug program would be a more adequate reentry setting for them than the rather loosely structured family setting of Crossroads. Other prospective parolees were in need of specific job opportunities, such as in cosmetology or industry. Our halfway house was located in a community with many educational and training opportunities and resources but with few job opportunities in industry. Thus we became increasingly aware of the need to define the special nature and resources of Crossroads in relation to the kind of women parolees whom we could best assist in their reentry program.

This led to a carefully designed assessment and screening program for applicants. The purpose was not simply to separate high-risk from low-risk cases. We would look at the reentry potential of applicants but also attempt to determine for what women our program would appear to be most effective. We emphasized to the women that our reentry program was quite specialized in its approach and

resources and so we screened applicants in order to match inmates' needs and goals with our services.

In the course of the admission process we would first of all interview the applicant. At that time we discussed primarily the inmate's release plans and future goals. During this interview we asked the woman's permission to consult her personal file at the Records Department for additional information. We utilized the file for specific information on parole-date possibilities, institutional history, social history and psychological evaluations. On the basis of the personal interview and the file, we would prepare a personal profile on the applicant¹⁶ to be presented to the Screening Committee, consisting of the supervisors and three members of the Board of Directors of Cross roads.

Some studies suggest that careful screening can assure high predictability of the degree of parole success.¹⁷ In our experience we found that the risk factor cannot be excluded in rehabilitation, but that the chance factor can be reduced by a careful screening process. Therefore we were concerned to look for strongly psychopathic and/or heavily drug or alcohol addiction personality-patterns, and

¹⁶See Appendix VI for an outline of this report.

¹⁷See e.g. Llyod E. Ohlin, Selection for Parole (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1951).

we did not admit applicants in these categories.¹⁸ Instead we concentrated on applicants whose goals were specifically in the area of further education, as this was an area in which our resources were strongest. Another strength which we identified in our program was the home-type of operation of Crossroads. As a family setting we could be most helpful; for parolees who expressed a need for a short-term socialization process which could facilitate being re-united with their own families.

Once applicants were accepted as prospective residents we would initiate a pre-release preparation and counseling program. It was important that the Parole Board felt positive about Crossroads' reentry program in order that they could support the release plans of our prospective resident parolees. We worked with each of these women in setting up a specific release plan which we would send to the Parole Board.¹⁹ Fortunately the Parole Board, as well as CIW counsellors and case managers, was generally favorably impressed with Crossroads' program.²⁰

¹⁸The majority of Crossroads residents had used drugs in the past, but we rejected applicants who appeared to have a primary problem in this area, even while incarcerated.

¹⁹See Appendix VII for a sample copy of such a statement.

²⁰One disadvantage was that some women would apply to Crossroads mainly to impress the Parole Board without an intention to actually follow up on these plans and utilize Crossroads reentry services. In this way we could waste much time and effort.

Our pre-release counseling with prospective residents was primarily geared to building a personal relationship which could serve as a reentry bridge leading back to society. In this way Crossroads acted as a substitute family. It has been noted that family contact and interest is a prime factor in parole success:

Parole workers have often observed the controlling and supporting effect of close family ties. Theoretical and research results have emphasized the important role of the parolee's family in easing the transition between prison life and life in the outside community. Close family relationships help the parolee feel that he is wanted and that society accepts him. His adjustment is made easier because he finds a clearly defined place for himself and a conventional role to play.²¹

The other side of the reentry bridge is the community. Already during the pre-release period the community can be brought closer to the prospective parolee. While I personally worked specifically in the prison setting, my wife Myra concentrated on community contacts. In the process of preparing parole plans, Myra functioned as the community "scout," who would investigate specific outside resources which would fit a particular inmate's parole plans. In the course of this community exploration a personalized "release packet" was assembled for each prospective resident. At times Myra could even bring into CIW significant persons from the

²¹Robert M. Carter and Leslie T. Wilkins, Probation and Parole: Selected Readings (New York: Wiley, 1970), p. 581.

outside, such as financial-aid personnel from schools. This would represent contact with the outside world.

2. The Residential Program in the Halfway House.

On the whole, the work of rehabilitation with ex-convicts has a rather dismal record. Parolees often resent re-socialization pressures and, if they conform, they do so on account of coercive treatment methods supplied by law enforcement agencies. A private halfway house has no coercive muscle to enforce its reentry program.

Coercion during parole is centered in the parole agent who supervises the parolee's conduct and who is to "violate" the parolee in case of disregard of parole conditions.²² Residency in the halfway house is not a parole condition even though it constituted part of the person's parole plan. Therefore the halfway house resident can terminate her stay at the house at any time, provided that she informs her parole agent within 72 hours of her change in residence.

This means that the residential program is mainly dependent on cooperative rather than coercive means of operation. Applicants to Crossroads at CIW receive a form²³

²²See Appendix IV for the Agreement of Parole and Parole conditions.

²³See Appendix VIII.

which explains the general purpose, program and procedure of the house. Residents freely join the halfway-house community by virtue of the value of the reentry services offered. The mode of cooperation thus has to be set up according to a client-agency resident contract. The coercive muscle of such a contract is termination of residency. Due to the fact that Crossroads constituted a limited (a maximum of six residents in addition to the supervisors' family), family-type of operation, this contract was verbally discussed and agreed upon rather than by way of written form.²⁴

This verbal contract which we used was intentionally kept at a bare minimum of rules. It included strict adherence to the conditions of parole and some main house rules as indicated in the "General Purpose, Program and Procedures" form under the heading: "House Rules and Structures."²⁵ We emphasized the fact that the house operated as an intentional and extended family where all members share in responsibility and where rules are made together for the common good of all residents. One of the strictest requirements was each person's presence and participation at the main meals and the weekly "family meetings."

²⁴See Appendix IX for an example of a written contract of a larger and more institutionalized type of reentry agency.

²⁵See Appendix VIII.

The family meetings presented the forum for clarification of conflict issues, the evolution of house management policies, more mundane matters of dealing with everyday chores such as dividing household tasks and arranging transportation schedules, and the resolution of reentry concerns and/or interpersonal tensions in the house. The agenda of these groups was geared to current feelings and situations.²⁶ As one "Crossroads" graduate" remembers: "In our group meetings we fought, we cried, we laughed and shared. Sometimes we just put some Swedish polkas on the record player and danced around."²⁷

The halfway-house program is closely related to the different stages (the "little steps") in the parolee's reentry process. We noted that the initial time of reentry is often a lonely and frightening experience. We always recommended that residents take the first two weeks after coming from prison to get acquainted with and settled in the halfway house. During this initial time parolees often express their dependency needs and look to the halfway house or other support structures for security. Increasingly, however, the house has to stress its halfway character. This is being done by emphasizing the limits of its temporary and

²⁶Note, for instance, how the family meeting was utilized in the case of Bonnie Jones when she resented the arrival of new residents in the house, supra, p. 160.

²⁷Claremont Courier (November 17, 1976)

interim arrangement. We explained that the normal stay at the house was set for approximately three months, although each case is negotiated according to its individual circumstances.²⁸

An important aspect of the dynamics of reentry is the proper balance between support and independence. A halfway house attempts to function as a supportive structure which at the same time facilitates the person in constructing her own natural support basis. The halfway house needs to be both a closed and an open system. During the initial stage of residency the supportive (closed) functions of the house are stressed.

This supportive aspect in Crossroads' house operation was mainly expressed by its family-type of structure. Residents became "family members." Our children made the largest contribution to making the house a family setting. The children would get involved on a personal level in the lives of each resident. They presented an opportunity for the women parolees to care and parent as they were often asked by our four children for help and attention. Something of the special kind of relationship, with both its joys and pains, between the women and the children is expressed in the words of our daughter Trisha, then twelve years old. In

²⁸For instance, Bonnie Jones' stay at the house was prolonged due to her hospitalization and the need for after-care during her slow recuperation.

the spring of 1976 she wrote about her halfway house experiences with the residents:²⁹

"Penny was the first woman to live with us. Soon she moved to her own house...Jenny came next. She was an O.K. person and soon she was on her own. Another woman who came to us was named Micki. Everyone liked her but we always have to say good-bye. Denise stayed with us for a very long time. We loved her very much. She was like a second mother to us. Then came Moszetta. She was a good friend. We'd knit and talk together... Then came Pam. She was O.K., I forget how she left but I think it was a go-and-never-come-back-thing. Maddy was a cheerful woman but one day she pulled Mary out with her and they never came back. Mary the one I mentioned above was very nice... Then came Lois, a woman we loved very much too. She is still with us and we call her "Chef Cannou" because she often cooks for the family. Then came Pat. She was Indian, with long black hair and a creative mind. She moved out, a bit too soon for me. Gloria came next. She was nice and her son Billy came and lived with us and Gloria stayed with her son a lot. Ida is now visiting her sister. Althea is very nice and very enjoyable. She is still looking for a job but she still has hope. Terry just left for Michigan to be with her parents. She is very nice. Linda is a jolly woman and a good haircutter at that. She mostly is gone on the job of hers...Many people came to our house and I learned a great lesson that you can't judge people by their looks. Like when one woman came her front teeth were missing and I took her as crabby, but she turned out to be my favorite."

Every other family meeting the children would also participate, and often during those group times we would deal with some of the children's feelings and concerns. In this way we could present a model of family life which would strengthen the women in their family and parenting roles and thus facilitate the transition to their own primary group structures.

²⁹ Crossroads Newsletter 1:2 (July 1976).

An interesting natural development in the Cross-roads' program was that some of the women's minor children began to join our halfway-house community. At first this would happen over the weekends when a woman could have a visit from one or more of her children. In one particular case a woman had her child stay with her at the house during the summer holidays in preparation for the eventual return to his mother. This development was based on our goal to relate to the entire woman. As Cecilia A. Nadal rightly remarks in reference to the place of women clients in Community Treatment Centers: "While we often deal with the 'provider' (employment, education, etc.) aspect of the woman we seldom relate to the 'female' and/or 'mother' (effective parenting, sexualality, etc.) aspect of the woman."³⁰

Another aspect of life which we emphasized in our house was the concept of "having a good time." It was easy to get into a "hard work" syndrome of emphasizing the rigors and demands of the reentry program. On Friday nights or at other occasions (such as a new resident joining us, good results on an examination, admission to a new program, or birthdays) we would have special meals. At other times children would present special programs, such as a skit or magic tricks. Some friends of the house often donated

³⁰ Cecelia Nadal, Issues Regarding Ethnic Minorities and Women Affecting Community Treatment Centers, IHHA, CT-516, p. 8.

tickets for concerts and the theater, and we found these events were very much appreciated. We often would take the Saturdays for recreational outings.

As indicated before, the halfway house is to function as a buffering agency in the socialization process. The house provides the "safe harbor" from which the parolee can venture out into society. An important way in which the house can further soften the reentry impact is to deal with the relationship of the parolee with her parole agent. The parolee often looks upon her parole agent as the person who represents the repressive aspects of society and punitive concerns of law enforcement agencies. As one parolee relates about her negative experiences with her parole agent during an earlier and unsuccessful parole period:

She rode me and bugged me from the time I went home i.e., [came from prison] . And, with all the other pressures I had at home with my mother, looking for a job, and all that kind of junk, it's a wonder that I didn't mess up earlier. If they ride you, push you, check up on you- You know, if you've been up there [in prison] for any length of time you've had that for about as long as you can stand it. They say that parole is just like being in prison, except that you have a little longer string. We all know that, but I don't think you have to have it pushed down your throat day in and day out.

In order to facilitate the parolee-parole agent relationship we as resident managers of the house maintained close contact with the parole office. Parole agents were well acquainted with our operation and supported our program as being auxiliary to their task. We saw to it that

parolees in our home would maintain regular contact with their agents. Also we supplied office space in the house to the parole agent in order that he or she could visit in the privacy of our home setting and thus meet the parolees in a less clinical, office-type atmosphere. Parolees appreciated this home environment for the agent-parolee contact, and they also were not inconvenienced by having to travel to the parole office. On account of their knowledge of and involvement in Crossroads' reentry setting, parole agents often kept their visits to a bare minimum.

Due to our mutual cooperation, Crossroads received a service contract from the Parole and Community Services Division which supplied funds for room and board for our parolee residents. In this way parolees, rather than paying rent, could put the money to more direct use for their reentry program. We experienced almost exclusively positive relationships between agent and parolee.³¹ As resident managers we cooperated with the parole agent but had an understanding of confidentiality by which we would not report negative parolee conduct or utilize the parole agent for disciplinary problems in the house.

While we did much to assure residents a safe and

³¹For an excellent overall description of normal experiences of "the parolee-agent system" see John Irwin, The Felon (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 149-73.

comfortable home base for their reentry program, we did emphasize the process of the "little steps" and the goal of planned termination of their residency at the house. Our contract with each resident included an understanding of a specific constructive work program (employment, vocational training, education, etc.) which constituted the woman's parole plan. Continued residency at the house depended not just on observation of house rules and activities but also on maintaining an active reentry program outside the house. That aspect of our reentry program relates more directly to the next subsection on community involvement.

3. The Resettlement Program in the Community. A halfway house by definition needs to be an open system which facilitates outreach and change in keeping with the transitional character of the reentry process. A halfway house needs to develop a social network of functional relationships to society. This process of social network development is to start already during the first phase of reentry assistance, i.e., during the pre-release program in prison. As I noted, at that point Myra functioned as the community-contact person and community-resource scout who would coordinate a specific "reentry kit" in conjunction with a particular release program.

Much emphasis on the further development of this social network to facilitate socialization is to be given

during the second phase, the actual residency program in the halfway house. To accomplish this resocialization, Crossroads developed a network of contacts and contact persons in strategic areas. Some of these contact persons were heavily involved in our program and were committed to active assistance in the resettlement process. These strategic areas are generally correlated with the "little steps" of social incorporation which I enumerated before.³² The following areas can be identified as most significant in this respect:

i) Procedures and Locations for the following services:

-Parole

-ID Papers and Driver's License

-Social Security

-Legal Services

-Welfare, Vocational Rehabilitation, and similar financial support agencies.

ii) Employment Possibilities and Services. We worked with both social and commercial employment agencies. Often women parolees would experience a high level of anxiety regarding their job applications due to their ex-convict label. Many application forms would have a question concerning the

³²Supra, pp. 216-229.

applicant's criminal record. Also a listing of previous places and positions of employment, required in most application forms, would be threatening to people who had been employed as inmates by the State in a correctional institution.

Some of Crossroads residents lied about their criminal records and fabricated their own employment records as they felt this to be their only chance of getting a job.³³ On several occasions we were able to procure employment for residents through friends of the halfway house. In this way the house itself began to develop a "job bank" which we experienced as one of the most valuable resource items for a halfway house.

iii) Educational and Vocational Training Opportunities. This was Crossroads' strongest area due to its specific locale. We were in contact with key persons in admissions, financial support and student counseling offices in several schools. In this way our residents, even when they were still incarcerated, could enroll in these institutions with a minimum of red tape and a maximum of personalized care and assistance.

iv) Medical and Dental Service. In our geographical

³³This argument has been recently supported by Dr. Edward Sagarin's thesis that publicly accepting a label of deviancy is self-limiting. See Edward Sagarin. "The High Cost of Wearing A Label," Psychology Today (March 1976) 25ff.

area we were able to locate only one medical doctor willing to take our residents as Medi-Cal patients.³⁴ This physician became well acquainted with and involved in our reentry program. We could consult with him at any time and always could refer new residents to his care. Also we frequently were in need of emergency medical treatment facilities and our "house physician" proved to be most helpful in this respect.

v) Personal and Rehabilitation Counseling Services.

Much counseling of an informal nature would take place in the halfway house, mostly around the kitchen table with a cup of coffee. We also had several referral places for more specific counseling needs. We used the Pastoral Counseling Center in Claremont for personal counseling if so desired. We also had several drug and alcohol centers and other specialized help sources available for referral.

vi) Shopping. The household duties were shared by all the residents in the house. In this way many of the women had to keep track of household supplies and participate in getting the groceries. Also most of the women were in need of clothing, and we introduced them to several thrift stores and other economical outlets in the area.

³⁴ Parolees would qualify for the State-run health insurance program financed through the Welfare office.

vii) Recreation and Social Contacts. I referred already to the fact that we had recreational outings together as house members. Also we introduced the women to local libraries, theaters and restaurants. We encouraged constructive friendship relationships. A majority of the women had been visited in prison by a volunteer friend from the local M-2 Sponsors prison visitation chapter. These friendships often continued after release. Also the halfway house had a group of interested people who made social contacts with residents. When residents made friends at school or place of employment, we encouraged them to have them visit the house. A large living room area was used for residents to entertain their relatives and friends.

viii) Transportation. The house had a car which was used intensively for the transportation needs of residents. After the women were settling down in their program, however, we would encourage them to use public transportation and/or get their own means of transportation. Also, we had a number of volunteer drivers in the community who helped out in emergency situations of high demands or scheduling conflicts in the transportation needs.

ix) Re-Settlement Assistance. Crossroads received large quantities of clothing, furniture and other home furnishing items. Most of these donated goods were placed in storage and were used in assisting women in moving to

their own place of residence. In this way we encouraged re-settlement planning and actively facilitated the women in the process of getting established in their own homes.

x) Community Outreach Programs. Some women took an active part in informative and prison-preventive presentations to schools, churches and/or other community groups. We had a slide presentation of pictures of the prison, halfway-house facilities and activities, and work/study locations in the community. At times residents would participate as a panel to stimulate further community interest and involvement.

This section has described how the house as a substitute family helps the resident along in the process of repopulating her social world from available community resources. In this way a social network is developed outside the halfway house, which will support the parolee in the critical reentry step of moving out of the halfway house to her own home.

D. A Critical Evaluation of the Crossroads-Model

Crossroads has been a growing and changing program. The guiding principle of its evolution has been the insistence on operating the program as an open system.³⁵ This

³⁵In systems theory there is a basic difference between a closed system and an open system. It concerns the relationship of the "inside" of a system to the "outside" - the environment. If there is little relationship between

flexibility inherent in this modus operandi is necessary for the program to perform the reentry-function of a halfway-house. As an open system the program is responsive in a dialectical fashion to the interplay of female parole-needs and relevant community-resources, thus facilitating the process of contact and growth in a creative self-world inter-relationship.

The uniqueness of Crossroads' program is its openness and responsiveness to the specific need-situation of women-parolees. The majority of halfway-houses are for men, and the few houses available to women basically follow the same male model. While men-parolees are culturally geared to the instrumental, male-provider role, I have emphasized the unique and additional significance of the family-ties and parent-role functions in the home environment for women-parolees as expressed in Crossroads' program.

This "open system"-orientation has come to expression in the following specific features which make the Crossroads-model an original contribution to the history of the halfway-house movement:

- 1) The full-time presence of a "core-family" serves as the basis for the extended family-setting and home-environment of the halfway-house. This "inside" element of the

the elements inside the system and those outside it, it is said to be a relatively closed system. The more it interacts with the environment, the more open it is.

system constitutes the stabilizing and integrating center of the whole program.

2) This "inside" center in the residential family-setting is at the same time related to an "outside" social radius which spans the full reentry-spectrum. The three phases of Crossroads' reentry-program encompass the entire movement from prison, to halfway-house, to the eventual resettlement in society.

3) In distinction from the predominantly behavior-orientation prevalent in the field of corrections and rehabilitation, Crossroads' approach is expressive of a distinctly pastoral-care perspective in its concern with the total person in terms of the biblical concept of liberation.

4) Rather than being solely a parolee-program, Crossroads also seeks to function as a community-program by sensitizing the community to an awareness of common responsibility with the "criminal" for the broken structures of our society. The Church's role as the "new community" thus becomes crucial to the operation of Crossroads' reentry program.

The highly problematic area of rehabilitation of criminals demands innovative and experimental projects such as Crossroads to explore the possibility of effective programs. At the same time, these experimental ventures need to be properly and objectively assessed. We noted how in the history of the halfway house movement research has

been almost totally lacking.³⁶ In the course of evaluative research of a halfway house program like Crossroads, it is difficult to determine what outcome measures to select to test the reentry program effectiveness. The criterion of recidivism (rearrest, reconviction and/or reimprisonment) considers each offender either a "success" or a "failure." But, as emphasized in this study, socialization is a slow and gradual process. As one research analyst in correction states:

It seems reasonable that people-changing programs cannot substantially change people within a relatively short period of time. Changes will be incremental and, hopefully, in the direction the program emphasizes... Realizing that the reintegrative process is gradual, evaluators should no longer be permitted to use dichotomous measures of success and failure in determining program effectiveness.³⁷

More recent evaluative measures of outcome utilize a continuous scale to measure "progress," rather than either "success" or "failure." This is called the "relative adjustment" measure which includes not only negative or deviant behavior but also positive factors defined as "acceptable adjustment patterns."³⁸

³⁶Supra, p. 234.

³⁷Richard P. Seiter, Considerations for Conducting Evaluative Research (International Halfway-House Association, CT-522).

³⁸For an illustration see R. P. Seiter, A Statistical Model to Test the Effectiveness of the Ohio Halfway-House Programs (Columbus: Ohio State University Program for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, 1972).

During the two years of the establishment and initial operation of Crossroads, which is the period covered in this study, the program has been too young, and too much in the process of emerging development to be appropriately assessed in its effectiveness in terms of accepted principles of evaluative research. However, a tentative and provisional evaluative picture is present. Eighteen women came through Crossroads' residency program during the first year. None of them returned to prison although two of them violated their parole. The majority of these women appeared to get themselves situated and stabilized with their families and in their social incorporation. In comparison with the usual high rate of recidivism, this is a very good record.³⁹

From the more realistic point of view of the "relative adjustment" measure, the efficiency picture appears quite productive for Crossroads. The house has been functioning at a close to maximum-occupancy level, with the majority of residents staying at the house for a considerable length of time (c. three months). During that time the residents are involved in active work- and study- programs. Proper records are being kept at Crossroads with information on each resident's past performance in relation

³⁹ Statistically we need to be cautious concerning these figures for two reasons: 1) the time factor, and 2) the elite character of Crossroads' residents as a result of the screening process.

to their present reentry program. These data need to be further utilized in the future when more people have passed through the Crossroads program. At this time the records indicate that Crossroads' services have been used to good effect by the majority of residents.

From our own provisional personal experience I can raise the following points of critique:

1) Crossroads was organized by concerned individuals who became involved through the M-2 community prison-visitation program. These individuals constituted the Board of Directors for Crossroads. The organizational arrangement depended on a constituency also of individual members. As such Crossroads did not have a strong support basis and commitment from collective groups. Crossroads represented "private visions" from a number of individuals. In practice this meant that Crossroads was run as a private enterprise which had to sell its program by means of promotional methods and the persuasion of "success stories." Especially in the field of rehabilitation such public relation pressures often present undue burdens. A more solid organizational commitment and involvement on the part of one or more churches as official sponsors, on the basis of a sense of collective responsibility and the knowledge of the many uncertainties and disappointments in this particular line of ministry, would have lessened the stress of unrealistic expectations and performance pressure.

2) A collective involvement on the part of the Church has been lacking on account of this individualistic approach as described above. There is a need to get beyond the social-help structures of "church-people" to the ontological structure of the Church itself as the "Body of Christ." In addition to the task of ministering to the "parolee" there is need for further communal and theological reflection, as well as action, with respect to the problems of "crime and society" as expressed in the concrete situation of Crossroads' community-program. This appears to me to be one of the most difficult challenges facing Crossroads.

3) The supervisor-team at Crossroads functions as the main representative model of the Church. Thus the supervisors bear the main burden of a ministry which I have already described in these pages as extremely intensive in depth and extensive in scope. The two years of work with Crossroads, especially the second year when we operated a full residency-program at the house, were very demanding and stressful for us as a couple and thus also for our children. The total involvement of the residential setting convinced us that a one-year commitment would most likely constitute the limit of endurance for most supervisor-teams and their families.

Yet, the whole concept of the Crossroads program is based on the stability and continuity of a basic family

structure. A major crisis within the halfway-house structure develops with the change, not just of a resident member which occurs on a frequent basis, but in its very core of the family constellation. Such a radical crisis in the residential system defeats the major purpose of Crossroads' intensive program of decreasing and adjusting the rate of change for optimal stability.

There are ways to buffer to some degree the impact of a sudden transition in supervisors. Before we left Crossroads the new husband-wife supervisor-team had gradually become involved in the halfway house over the period of more than one month. They participated in the tasks and activities of the house and became acquainted with the residents during this time of transition. At the same time they also became involved in the prison phase of the program. At times it may also become a problem to locate competent supervisors who are able and willing to totally involve their family in the intentional halfway house community-living design.⁴⁰

⁴⁰It may well be necessary at times for practical reasons to de-intensify the role of the supervisor-team and family by working with a larger and non-resident staff as practiced in most halfway houses. This would be a move to a more institutional approach. Another possibility would be to work more closely through the CIW Chaplaincy Department and utilize a one year CPE residency program for staffing the halfway house. While this arrangement would necessitate an annual change in supervisors, the CPE supervisory connection through CIW would provide a certain degree of continuity. Also this arrangement would offer more certainty of motivated

4) Even though Crossroads' residency program appeared to be successful during its first year of operation, it is to be borne in mind that Crossroads represents only a very limited reentry program. It was a voluntary, self-help type of program which thus concentrated only on those women who appeared to be highly motivated and whom we could offer a realistic release program. Crossroads thus represents an elective approach, excluding most of the high-risk areas of rehabilitation, such as severely sociopathic and/or addictive personality disorders. As such Crossroads offers only a partial answer to the problem of rehabilitation. This study's female convict profile in interrelationship with the analysis of the psychosocial dynamics of reentry obstacles relates a grim picture which appears almost unsurmountable for many parolees.

E. A Pastoral Counseling Model in Socialization through a Community Residential Care Center

In the overview of its history we noticed the religious roots of the halfway house movement. The Judeo-Christian

staff and ongoing competent and consistent supervision of the program. The CPE program at CIW could also utilize additional students in the aftercare program of Crossroads reentry ministry. Another possibility would be to encourage graduate residents of the program to involve themselves in Crossroads by helping the new parolees. This would lead to a self-help group of female felons structured around the Crossroads program.

heritage of the "cure of souls" has a long tradition of renewing personal relationships through the ministry of reconciliation. As such the Church has been intimately involved in prison reform and the work of rehabilitation of criminals. This concern for the offender seemed to stem primarily from an individualistic orientation, to save "sinners" for heaven or redeem the social deviant for a useful function in society, rather than also being informed by a political awareness and social conscience.

The Church's individualistic emphasis on personal salvation (whether for heaven or for this earth) is also apparent in its tradition of pastoral care. This trend became even more pronounced through the influence of conventional psychotherapy with its strong pathology orientation. Thus the focus for pastoral attention became the sick, troubled, and deviant.

In this study I have emphasized that crime cannot be simply accounted for in the individualistic terms of "personal sin" or by the medical diagnostic label of the "criminal personality." The crime situation shows that it is directly related to the sociocultural context of our society. Prison institutions in North-America have been described as colonies of the deprived: the poor, uneducated and unskilled, black and brown peoples. A professor in criminal justice only slightly overstated the

matter when she remarked that: "...it is possible for you and I to predict by race, sex and socio-economic status who will be incarcerated and won't be incarcerated."⁴¹

As such we need an approach which goes beyond the merely individualistic line and which includes the whole community setting. This, indeed, has been increasingly recognized in the field of corrections:

The general underlying premise for the new directions in corrections is that crime and delinquency are symptoms of failures and disorganization of the community as well as of individual offenders. In particular these failures are seen as depriving offenders of contact with the institutions of society that are basically responsible for assuring the development of law-abiding conduct....

The task of corrections therefore includes building or rebuilding solid ties between the offender and the community, integrating or reintegrating the offender into community life -restoring family ties, obtaining employment and education, securing in the larger sense a place for the offender in the routine functioning of society....

This requires not only efforts directed toward changing the individual offender, which has been almost the exclusive focus of rehabilitation, but also mobilization and change of the community and its institutions.⁴²

New developments in the theory and practice of psychotherapy and also in pastor counseling have taken a more holistic approach in which the social context of human life has come to the fore. Howard J. Clinebell in his book

⁴¹Nadel, p. 1.

⁴²Task Force Report: Corrections. The Presidents Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1967).

Basic Types of Pastoral Counseling (published in 1966) contrasts the "older model" with a "revised model" for pastoral counseling which is "...based not on insight-oriented, uncovering psychotherapy, but on relational, supportive, ego-adaptive, reality-oriented approaches to therapy."⁴³ This model is called "relationship-centered counseling"⁴⁴ and its focus is moved from exclusively intrapsychic processes within the individual to the dynamics of the social field within which the individual finds his or her life context.

This new development in pastoral care is closely related to the community mental health concept of preventive medicine. The different forms of prevention involve the total social context and use the community setting and resources as active and necessary participants in the process of healing. It is obvious that the Church, which functions as a basic social organism for many people, would be a natural and ideal setting for the use and further implementation and development of the concepts of prevention. What is significant in this model of pastoral care is that it focuses on the Church community itself as the therapeutic agent rather than upon the pastor's professional role as counselor:

⁴³Howard J. Clinebell, Jr., Basic Types of Pastoral Counseling (New York: Abingdon Press, 1966), p. 23.

⁴⁴Ibid.

Were pastoral care to be designed on the model of preventive medicine it would become systems pastoral care. Leaders would be trained to deal with social systems at many levels and to function as enablers...The pastor would not do all this himself but would craft a social system that functions preventively at many levels.⁴⁵

A reentry ministry for parolees, as discussed in these pages, is to be conceptualized in terms of the model of preventive pastoral care. For purposes of clarification it would be helpful to enumerate the different forms which preventive care can take in the Church. A distinction has been made between primary, secondary and tertiary prevention:⁴⁶

1. Primary prevention deals with the basic structures and conditions which constitute the life-context of people. Primary prevention is concerned with strengthening those life conditions which are productive to mental health while at the same time reducing and eliminating destructive conditions which lead to inadequate and sick ways of life. The Church's role in primary prevention is of crucial significance. The Church is a life-structuring community concerned with people's attitudes and conduct. A "law of life" is proclaimed by Church and Temple as a normative way of life which leads to the abundant life in distinction from

⁴⁵E. M. Pattison, "Systems Pastoral Care," Journal of Pastoral Care, XXVI:1 (March 1972).

⁴⁶See H. J. Clinebell, Jr.(ed.) Community Mental Health : The Role of Church and Temple (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970), especially ch. 1, "An Overview of the Church's Roles in Community Mental Health," E.M. Pattison, pp. 20-27.

"lawless" ways of life leading to destruction and death. The "two ways: of either productive or destructive life styles is basic to religious teaching. People are being exposed to a multitude of changing life styles and available life-options in today's society, and the Church is for many the place of commitment to a way of life which is experienced as meaningful, stable and rewarding.

Not only does the Church by its teaching and practice "structure" the way people live but the Church in and by itself constitutes a life and support structure. The Church is a community of people bound together in a common bond of "faith, love and hope." Sharing the same belief system and committed to each other's well-being, the Church is a place dedicated to personal relationships, both vertical and horizontal. Primary prevention is a matter of such basic relationship structures which define the person's "place" in the world. Such a "faith and love" community promotes human wholeness rather than alienation and loneliness. In the normal and developmental life crises, the Church provides support and guidance as it helps persons through the varied transition phases of their lives. Most of the rituals of the Church are structured around the passages of life which are experienced as the vulnerable points in a person's life.

More recent approaches in pastoral care seek to make the Church's support structure more explicit and more

specifically suited to fit certain life stages and circumstances.⁴⁷ In our present technological and impersonal world structure, the Church can set up intentional growth-structures, i.e., growth-groups, to promote and facilitate a capacity for personal contact and intimacy. Other such growth-structures can be utilized for particular stress situations, such as grief or divorce, or can be geared to the growth stages related to different age-groups.

2. Secondary prevention deals with the early identification of and appropriate response to people with interpersonal and/or mental stress and disturbances, thus interrupting a process which would eventually lead to more serious complications of a more permanent nature. This kind of preventive care often takes place in pastoral crisis counseling. Such counseling does not stress insight into personality dynamics nor involve long-term counseling, but rather emphasizes an active approach of guidance and intervention at a time when the counselee is temporarily immobilized by an overwhelming problem situation. This situation sometimes requires referral to appropriate agencies for further care.

⁴⁷ See, for instance, some of Howard Clinebell's latest books: The People Dynamic: Changing Self and Society Through Growth Groups (New York: Harper & Row, 1972); Growth Counseling for Marriage Enrichment (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975).

3. Tertiary prevention concerns people who have gone through a process of emotional and social disruption and need reentry services in order to re-establish their place in society and in a proper community support structure. As we have noted in this present study, people that have been institutionalized for some time in the social isolation of a prison, hospital or other such place not only have become alienated from their home community but also face the additional burden of a stigma upon their return to society. The Church can function as a bridge between institution and society.⁴⁸ While inmates are separated from the community in their institutional setting, the Church by its presence can maintain a sense of contact with the outside world and thus overcome the process of estrangement. In tertiary prevention the Church also seeks to "prepare a place" for the returning inmate and provide the kind of reentry assistance which will reduce the possibility of a recurrence of the emotional or social disorder.

Crossroads' reentry ministry is a clear example of tertiary preventive pastoral care. Its first phase of pre-release counseling is ecological therapy as it deals with the question of how and where the person can fit into society

⁴⁸See Thomas W. Klink, "The Religious Community and The Returning Inmate," in Clinebell, Community Mental Health.

and can utilize community resources in a stable, harmonious and productive relationship with society. The second phase of the residential halfway house program is the counseling approach of providing a temporary social system to a system-deprived or dysfunctional system-oriented person. In this way a "therapeutic community" is provided as a model of a healthy system which is able to facilitate the process of learning new and constructive system behavior. The third phase of social incorporation seeks the restoration of the person to natural support structures and community groups.

It is apparent that the Church is in an ideal position to practice this kind of social system care. Its character as the "Body of Christ" on earth, is being a "therapeutic community," a society of healing. In the section in which I pursued the biblical vision of "a place for the self," I emphasized the Church's role as the representative of the Christ who came to "prepare a place" for the displaced. Richard Niebuhr has writted about the Church as "social pioneer" and emphasized its role of "representational responsibility:"

Where this responsibility is being exercised there is no longer any question about the reality of the Church. In pioneering and representative action of response to God in Christ the invisible Church becomes visible and the deed of Christ is reduplicated.⁴⁹

⁴⁹Richard Niebuhr, "The Responsibility of the Church for Society" (unpublished paper), p. 12.

With such a Christ-identity the Church can be a strong alternative to a merely institutional and governmental approach to the crime situation. We noted already the fallacy of the old popular myth "that there was a bureaucratic or governmental alternative to familial and communal virtue, that what parents, neighbors and friends had failed to do, patrolmen, wardens, counselors and psychiatrists could provide."⁵⁰ In some European countries, in Scandinavia but especially in the Netherlands, we notice a great emphasis on community involvement and volunteer services in after-care programs for people on probation and parole.⁵¹ For instance, in the Netherlands the supervision of cases on probation and parole is undertaken by private societies, most of these being directly related to the Church.⁵²

These societies start contacts with prisoners in their place of confinement. Each prisoner receives regular visits from a member of the society responsible for that

⁵⁰ Supra, p. 71.

⁵¹ European Committee on Crime Problems, Probation and After-Care in Certain European Countries (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1964) .

⁵² The following list of the main societies shows this:
 -The Netherlands Prisoner's Rehabilitation Society (for all denominations),
 -The Roman Catholic Prisoners' Rehabilitation Society.
 -The Protestant Christian Rehabilitation Society.
 -The Salvation Army.

person's after-care. In addition to the prison visitation program, the societies have established many halfway houses. These reentry services are run by private associations which receive State subvention.

In the history of Crossroads we note some interesting similarities. The roots of Crossroads started, as we have seen, in the volunteer prison visitation work carried on by the M-2 Sponsors organization.⁵³ This project enlists community participation, most of it coming from churches, in the process of helping inmates in correctional institutions in their reentry into society. Volunteers from the community are matched on a one-to-one basis (hence the name M-2, i.e., match two) with inmates who also volunteer for the program. The outside volunteers, called "sponsors," pledge to make regular visits to their match in order to establish a friendly relationship. This relationship is to support the inmate after his or her release, during the initial period of parole when the reentry impact is most severe. In relation to that

⁵³This organization was initiated in the mid-nineteen sixties by a minister, Richard Simmons, in the State of Washington. Simmons followed the model of the Netherlands' after-care programs of community corrections. In 1971 a pilot project was begun in Northern California. Over 850 citizens were recruited, briefed and matched and began making visits in the area prisons. Soon the program was introduced into all California adult institutions (men and women) and seven youth facilities. At the moment this is the largest citizen group active in California corrections.

critical first stage of reentry, Crossroads was started as an expression of the concern of M-2 visitors regarding the after-care of people they had visited in prison.⁵⁴

The actual operation of Crossroads maintained its contacts with the various churches. The main reason for the Claremont City Council reversal of the negative Planning Commission decision was the unified support of local churches and the active involvement of some of its members in presenting a case for the halfway house. This support has continued in volunteer workers, finances, clothing and home furnishings donations. In more informal ways the churches have provided friends and points of contact for employment, professional and other services in the community.

With a community approach to corrections, with the Church as the "social pioneer" providing a support and growth center in the halfway house community, a pastoral care counseling model in the socialization of ex-inmates begins to take shape. The modus operandi of such a model of counseling has been described in the specific terms which applied to the care of women parolees who came to Crossroads.⁵⁵ From a theoretical perspective such a model of pastoral counseling can be summarized by the following emphases:

⁵⁴Supra, p. 240

⁵⁵Supra, p. 256-275.

1. Social System Therapy. Much emphasis has been placed in this study on seeing the woman parolee in her social-system context. From this perspective it is interesting to note the work of Sharon L. Hollander and her husband, Carl E. Hollander, in the course of providing sociatric services for the Federal Bureau of Prisons to prison inmates. Using the technique of psychodrama⁵⁶ they counseled inmates in the context of their "social atomic system."⁵⁷ This system includes:

- i) the psychological social atom, which is the smallest number of people that each person requires in order to feel complete, i.e., in sociostasis.
- ii) the collective social atom, which is the smallest number of groups or affiliates of which an individual must be a member in order to feel complete, and
- iii) the individual social atom, which is the smallest number of people required to maintain membership in a collective.

⁵⁶ An action instrument which provides an individual and group with a structure to experience their own process of learning. Through the enactment of life situations, an individual is provided the opportunity to fully experience his or her individual process intrapersonally as well as interpersonally and sociometrically. The structure allows for a warm-up, an enactment, and integration.

⁵⁷ Sharon L. Hollander "Social Atom: An Alternative to Imprisonment (unpublished manuscript (May, 1974)).

This conceptualization is helpful in enlarging the scope of the counseling relationship. In terms of the woman offender it means to deal with her relationship to her family, her mother-provider role for her children, her relationship to "her man," her career potential and value orientation. It means to follow the process of incarceration and parole in terms of the changes in social system orientation. The felon experiences a traumatic system deprivation in incarceration.⁵⁸ The inmate social system is the inmate-response of creating a provisional system to counter the pains of imprisonment.⁵⁹ At the time of release from prison, however, a new social vacuum, and thus a new personal crisis, occurs.⁶⁰ The parolee is often restricted by parole stipulations and conditions from contact with her old social system. At times, this makes parole violation a tempting option as it returns the parolee to her inmate society. Such, as we have seen, are some of the dynamics of the prison and reentry experiences.

A socialization counseling approach assesses interpersonal relationships and social networks, while seeking to facilitate the development of new linkages with social

⁵⁸Supra, pp. 33-43.

⁵⁹Supra, pp. 43-52.

⁶⁰Supra, pp. 193-202.

systems in harmony with a constructive life style as expressed in the parolee's release plan. A pastoral approach utilizes the resources of the community in repopulating the person's "social atom" in relation to a new productive life and goal orientation.

2. Growth Direction. Howard Clinebell defines growth counseling as "...a human potentials approach to the helping process which defines the goal of the process as the liberation of the fullest potentialities at each life stage, and the creation of a person-enhancing society in which every person will have the opportunity to use his/her full potentialities."⁶¹ I have discussed the person-society correlation in the "growth process of social integration" in relation to Maslow's hierarchy of human needs.⁶² We noted that the existential "life stage" of the released prisoner begins at the prison gates, where she is "delivered" as a social infant into an often hostile world. At that point the most basic need levels have to be provided for if further growth is to take place. The "liberation of the fullest potentialities" is to be carefully correlated with advancing social and institutional support structures. This process I have sketched in the "little steps of social

⁶¹H. J. Clinebell, Jr., "What is Growth Counseling?" (unpublished paper), p. 1.

⁶²Supra, pp. 202-215.

incorporation."⁶³

Growth counseling assumes that all human beings share a basic growth orientation and an innate need to actualize their potential beings. Without growth the person is oppressed by the pain of "unlived life." This is especially prevalent in the prison setting where people are confined in a society which is more often experienced as person-degrading than person-enhancing. One of the severest prison pains which women inmates experienced was:

...the total waste of time spent there...the total futility of this time is the most maddening thing to bear. You realize nothing but frustration from the beginning to the end of your confinement.⁶⁴

This sense of futility in prison is often related to high hopes and aspirations for the future in the "free world." Erickson et al., in their study of San Diego parolees, utilized Cantril's Self-Anchoring Striving Scale to measure the level of aspiration and expectations in parolees.⁶⁵ The results of this test show a rather realistic

⁶³Supra, pp. 216-228.

⁶⁴Supra, p. 38.

⁶⁵R. J. Erickson et al., Paroled But Not Free (New York: Behavioral, 1973), pp. 74-7. Each parolee was shown a picture of a ladder with steps 0 to 10, with 0 being the worst possible life and 10 being the best possible life. This is a self-defined continuum, based on the individual's own assumptions, goals, values, and perceptions. The parolee was asked where he sees himself now, where he saw himself five years ago, and where he sees himself five years from now. An additional question was related to where he saw most other ex-cons on this ladder now.

self-assessment in relation to the past (when most of the subjects were in prison) and the present (at the beginning stages of parole). But a drastic change occurs in the ratings for the future which appear unrealistically high.⁶⁶ This suggests, however, that growth deprivation is in many cases directly related to growth hunger and growth aspirations.

In the Crossroads' program we strongly emphasized goal-oriented release programs. Rather than merely a residential program we presented Crossroads as a reentry program. As such we were often in contact with inmates and parolees in the gleaning category.⁶⁷ We emphasized the future, intentionality and planning, education and vocational training geared to career goals and personal fulfillment. This forward thrust in the context of a supporting community setting of productive interpersonal and social relationships constitutes the milieu for human growth in socialization and self-actualization.

3. Reality Therapy Orientation. Behavior modification techniques have been having great popularity in the treatment of criminal behavior and are considered the important trend

⁶⁶The group within Cantril's sample which comes closest to the level of the parolees' self placement (step 8.8) is the Jewish group (8.6), followed by the College-educated (8.5), and the upper class (8.3). Ibid., p. 77.

⁶⁷Supra, p. 56f.

for the future. In this context criminal behavior is looked upon as learned behavior rather than caused by underlying conflict and anxiety. Reality therapy also is a behavior therapy. It focuses on actual behavior rather than underlying attitudes. The criterion for behavior is whether or not it is responsible behavior in the context of reality. Yet, rather than a pathology-treatment approach, Reality Therapy places the main emphasis on the person's own responsibility in his or her therapy toward constructive change.

Crossroads' program emphasized personal responsibility,⁶⁸ steering clear from both the moralistic approach of the "sin model," and the treatment approach of the "sickness model." The modus operandi of the house fostered democratic management by participation. The main counseling goal was to deal with current behavior. The goal of all counseling was planning for responsible behavior. Part of the criminal life orientation, especially in the antisocial personality structure, is to blame society for personal problems. Crossroads' reentry program countered this attitude by affording practical and realistic growth opportunities and by rejecting fatalistic attitudes and excuses. Crossroads operated on a voluntary basis of personal cooperation and commitment. Termination from the program could result from violating

⁶⁸ "Individual Responsibility and Criminal Behavior," supra, pp. 92-110.

the client-agency resident contract.

The above enumeration of management principles are based on Glasser's theory of reality therapy.⁶⁹ The residency program affords a unique situation for the socialization process in which individual needs are correlated with the requirements of communal responsibility. As some proponents of a reality therapy residence program have stated:

Working from the individual human needs, to the organizational needs, to the societal needs, we find ourselves teaching a plan towards citizenship in a society designed to be democratic, however facing the real implications of undemocratic and irresponsible behavior. With the reality therapy approach, we can consider illegitimate, as well as legitimate, performance methods and consequences are considered. Theoretically, the involvement of staff and clients will be so vital that the planning for meeting one's needs in a legitimate fashion will teach an individual the kind of behavior necessary for citizenship in society.⁷⁰

4. Value Clarification. Implicit in the reality therapy approach is the process of values clarification. Louis Rath places the emphasis on the process of valuing, rather than the content of people's values, in the didactic setting of transmitting values. He describes this process

⁶⁹William Glasser, see especially his books, Reality Therapy (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), and Identity Society. (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

⁷⁰C. H. Watts and W. A. Kass, Magdala Foundation: Reality Therapy Residence Treatment Program (Magdala Foundation, August 1975).

of valuing in terms of seven sub-processes:⁷¹

Prizing one's beliefs and behaviors

1. prizing and cherishing
2. publicly affirming, when appropriate

Choosing one's beliefs and behaviors

3. choosing from alternatives
4. choosing after consideration of consequences
5. choosing freely

Acting on one's beliefs

6. acting
7. acting with a pattern, consistency and repetition.

Rather than a moralistic teaching model of instilling external "straight society" values, this approach opens the way to help a person in the dynamic process of growing autonomy and, what could be termed, ego competency. We noted that antisocial behavior is characterized by little regard either for the lessons of the past or the consequences in the future. Decisions are often made in an impulsive manner. Interpersonal behavior is often manipulative, i.e., people are not respected as other human beings but are exploited for immediate self-gratification. This is the kind of behavior often encountered in people with a prison career.

As such "valuing" is a helpful exercise in the process of proper ego functioning. Rath's sub-processes can be related to the ego functions of:

1. receiving data
2. collecting and holding on to these data (rather than acting on sudden impulses)

⁷¹Louis Rath's et al., Values and Teaching (Columbus, OH: Merrill, 1966).

3. choosing the best alternative (rather than obsessive-compulsive, repetitive patterns of following self-defeating life-scripts and/or role behavior)
4. acting on one's decisions.

In more popular Transactional Analysis language, values clarification is the process of mobilizing the Adult function.

Within the context of a reality therapy residence program, the pastoral counseling commitment to a value and guidance orientation is best expressed through the dynamic process of values clarification. This approach respects the responsibility of the resident and facilitates growth in socialization in contrast to a more moralistic and paternalistic "corrections" perspective.⁷²

CONCLUSION

This dissertation can be considered a case study in a systems pastoral care approach for the social reorientation and reintegration of the displaced person. This socialization model in counseling has been pursued in the context of

⁷²Note the angry inmate's reaction to the enforced Parent-Child transactional pattern in prison: "You know, they talk to you like a child. That just ticked me off - don't treat me like a retarded three year old. I might be in the penitentiary, but I'm still an adult human being." See Supra, p. 40.

post-release care for women parolees. This target population presents an obvious example of a displaced person in our society. The combination of being an ex-convict and a woman, not simply as two separate factors but in their interrelationship, has been analyzed in its effect of social alienation.

Of course, there are many other sources of social alienation (depending on such factors as age, economic status, sexual orientation, health, marital status, ethnic background, religious orientation, physical handicaps, etc.), which separately and/or in combination can present a specific clinical picture of a "social outcast." In such cases too, the approach of this study can be applied. For female parolees the temporary system replacement of a half-way house community has been explored as a meaningful therapeutic means of social incorporation. This same model could also fit the case of ex-mental patients who on account of the self-mortification effects of institutionalization, with the resulting spoiled sense of self-esteem and security, and with the reentry obstacle of a social stigma, may also need a buffering agency to adjust the socialization process. For other socially deprived or displaced persons the less radical means of various support group structures, such as self-help groups, may be more appropriate means of socialization.

The pastoral character of the socialization model explicated in this study comes out in several dimensions. I have mentioned the concepts of caring in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Rather than a predominantly behavior orientation, the pastoral approach is person-oriented. As such the dignity and responsibility of the person is respected. Also, the person is considered in his/her potential being, i.e., in the light of the history of salvation and liberation which opens the way for a new life and a new future. This is the impetus of the characteristic modes of the growth counseling approach. We noted the dual focus of growth counseling: the individual only grows in relation to a social context of a community of health and life. Ideally, the Church is that spiritual and social organism which incorporates the "lost" members into a community of life. As the "new community" the Church, also, is to act prophetically - the "pioneer" function of modeling the responsible (i.e., responding to God in Christ) community in this world. As such the Church is directly involved in the crime situation, both in its guilt and its need for reconciliation and restoration. In addition, we noted that from a practical point of view the Church is politically valuable in its moral influence and its ready contact with community resources.

Crossroads presents an experimental project which

developed in a responsive relationship to emerging challenges and needs in a local situation. Its specific socialization program results from a private house enterprise which cannot be simply transplanted into another locale. However, the socialization model of a "residential pastoral care center" has wide application potential to situations of socially deprived and alienated persons. The Church community as a whole is mainly concentrated on those who are socially established and accepted. The Church as such has ceased to be a welcome place for the social outcasts and deviants. Through the creation of therapeutic communities there may be an access to the target population of the Christian gospel: the "sinners and publicans," i.e., the socially and spiritually alienated in our time.

It is necessary, however, to realize that these unconventional communities are high-risk areas of ministry. In the field of corrections one often encounters a deep cynicism regarding the possibility of rehabilitating offenders. Most crime experts simply have concluded on the basis of hundreds of experimental studies on the treatment of criminals that no form of rehabilitation has yet been found to be effective.

In this study I have argued that the radical approach of a temporary system replacement by the halfway house community, in conjunction with a planned, gradual social

reincorporation program, is a theoretically sound and practically promising line of approach for certain parolees. According to the thesis of this dissertation, such an approach in community corrections is most meaningful when sponsored and operated by the spiritual and social resources of the Church in the context of a "residential pastoral care center."

As I have already indicated at several points, this study has not analyzed the Crossroads' project simply as an end in and by itself. I have utilized the Crossroads' experiment as a case-illustration for a systems-approach to pastoral care, specifically as it relates to tertiary prevention. As such, three theoretical areas have been developed in this dissertation which are significant and applicable to the field of socialization from a pastoral care perspective as well as to the whole area of growth-counseling:

- 1) the theological framework for a pastoral care model in socialization
- 2) the psychological dynamics of the reentry-crisis experience in relation to this theological framework
- 3) a pastoral care model for socialization counseling.

The theological framework has been developed in terms of an anthropology based on Adlerian principles. Such an anthropology is characterized by being both holistic and

teleological in scope. The holistic emphasis of the self-in-the-world experience is integrated with the teleological dimension of intentionality which makes each human being a unique and responsible person. All human behavior, and I have applied this specifically to criminal behavior systems, is thus considered from a spiritual and personal center of meaning and values which is integral to the individual's life style.

The psychological dynamics of reentry have been assessed in the Erickson study (Paroled But Not Free) in terms of the Maslowian hierarchy of basic need levels. The contribution of this dissertation has been to analyze the reentry dynamics from the perspective of Erikson's developmental concept of crisis as the point of growth opportunity. This growth has been defined in the holistic terms of social integration and incorporation. In line with a systems and developmental perspective I have analyzed parole as a rite of passage by applying Van Gennep's triad of separation, transition and incorporation. As a specific contribution to the understanding of this growth-process in the reentry-career of women-parolees, I have identified developmental stages in social incorporation in the enumeration of the eight "little steps."

The pastoral care model in socialization has been developed in this study from several perspectives. The

contribution of a variety of current psychotherapy emphases has been assessed in the general context of a systems approach. The systems concept places the main emphasis on the utilization of the Church body as a spiritual and social structure which functions as a community mental-health resource according to the principles of prevention.

From this particular conceptualization of pastoral care as worked out in this study in the area of socialization, the basic human struggle in life is the ecological concern of establishing a place which affords a context for significance and meaning to the person's existence. From this perspective all pastoral counseling, in keeping with the biblical history of liberation, is "to prepare a place" for those who have none.

APPENDIX

Appendix I

INMATES' SURVEY OF VOCATIONAL NEEDS AT C.I.W.-JULY 15, 1976

Inmates were asked to check the following questions:

- 1) Are you enrolled in any of the following vocations which are now being offered at C.I.W.:
 - Electronics
 - Cosmetology
 - Culinary Arts
 - Business Training
 - Industrial Workers
 - Janitorial Training Service
 - Medical Field
 - Screenprinting
 - Other
- 2) If you are not enrolled in any of the above, would you enroll in a training program if you had a commitment from the Department of Corrections stating that when you were qualified to work you would be allowed to work in the community. Yes _____ No _____
- 3) Do you feel that the training now being offered in C.I.W. is adequate and you could compete with the general public in job placement? Yes _____ No _____
- 4) What is the last grade you completed? _____

Survey Results -July 20, 1976

At that time there were 576 women inmates and 576 ballots were passed out. The number of total ballots returned was 248. The survey was tallied as to how many women answered question two with a yes, and how many women answered question three with a no:

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Yes (#2)</u>	<u>No (#3)</u>
Third	3	1	2
Fourth	19	6	13
Fifth	10	5	6
Sixth	29	13	17
Seventh	22	12	9
Eighth	27	18	16
Ninth	7	5	6

N.B. This survey was devised and administered by a number of inmates. It appears that they only tallied ballots which included question #2. As such the survey results are limited to those women who were not at that time enrolled in any of the vocational programs.

Appendix II

LIFE CHANGE UNITS SCALE¹

<u>Life Event</u>	<u>Value</u>
Death of a spouse	100
Divorce	73
Marital Separation	65
Jail Term	63
Death of close family member	63
Personal injury or illness	53
Marriage	50
Fired at work	47
Marital reconciliation	45
Retirement	45
Change in health of family member	44
Pregnancy	40
Sex difficulties	39
Gain of new family member	39
Change in financial state	38
Death of close friend	37
Change to different line of work	36
Change in number of arguments with spouse	35
Mortgage over \$10,000	31
Foreclosure of mortgage or loan	30
Change in responsibilities at work	29
Trouble with in-laws	29
Son or daughter leaving home	29
Outstanding personal achievement	28
Wife beginning or stopping work	26
Beginning or ending school	26
Revision of personal habits	24
Trouble with boss	23
Change in work habits or conditions	20
Change in residence	20
Change in schools	20
Change in recreation	19
Change in social activities	18
Mortgage or loan less than \$10,000	17
Change in sleeping habits	16
Change in number of family get-togethers	15
Change in eating habits	15
Vacation	13
Minor violations of the law	11

¹For sources see: T. H. Holmes and R. H. Rahe, "The

HAZARDS OF CHANGE

Any great change - even a pleasant change - produces stress. That is the implication of a 1971 survey reported to the American Association for the Advancement of Science by Dr. Thomas Holmes, professor of psychiatry at the University of Washington at Seattle. Furthermore, Holmes found that too many changes, coming too close together, often produce grave illness or depression.

In the course of his investigation, Holmes devised a scale assigning point values to changes that often affect human beings. When enough of these occur within one year and add up to more than 300, trouble may lie ahead. In Holmes' survey 80% of people who exceeded 300 became pathologically depressed, had heart attacks, or developed other serious ailments. Of scorers in the 150-300 range, 53% were similarly affected as were 33% of those scoring up to 150.

Social Readjustment Rating Scale," Journal of Psychosomatic Research, SI (1967), 213. Also, A. R. Wyler et al. "Magnitude of Life Events and Seriousness of Illness," Psychosomatic Medicine, XXXIII:2 (March-April 1971).

Appendix III

EX-CONVICT STIGMA ANALYSIS

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

A questionnaire, dealing with attitudes toward ex-convicts and the California prison system was distributed to students at Mount San Antonio College, Walnut, California. A sample of 100 completed questionnaires was selected for statistical analysis. The data render the following description of the students:

- 1) sex - 54% male, 46% female.
- 2) age - 85% under 25 and 11% between 25-35 years.
- 3) income - only 25% under \$10,000 annual family income, with almost equal spread in the four remaining sectors: i) 10,000-14,999, ii) 15,000-19,999, iii) 20,000-24,999, and iv) 25,000-plus.
- 4) criminal conviction history (personal or related to close family members):
71% none; 29% yes.
Twice as many misdemeanors (22) than felonies (11) were reported.

DESCRIPTIVE DETAILS ON ATTITUDES

- 1) Identification feelings with criminal offender
To the question whether the person had ever committed some crime for which he/she could have been sent to jail or prison,
39% responded yes
6% responded don't know
55% responded no
- 2) Feelings towards ex-offenders
27%-positive
19%-neither positive nor negative

54%-depends on knowing the person
 With respect to a particular crime and closeness
 of contact with the offender ("if an ex-felon had
 committed homicide, would you allow him/her in your
 home overnight?") the responses changed in the
 following manner:

14%-positive
 28%-negative (citing reasons of fear and distrust)
 58%-depends on knowing the person

3) Belief in rehabilitation claimed by ex-convicts

50%-positive
 45%-not so sure
 5%-negative

When ex-convicts would profess a religious conversion
 experience while in prison leading to their rehabil-
 itation, the responses changed in the following
 manner:

62%-positive
 18%-not so sure
 20%-negative

4) Attitudes concerning halfway house moving into
 neighbor

7% would move to another neighborhood
 48% would stay clear or not be sure what to do
 45% would welcome the residents, although some ex-
 pressed certain conditions, such as the safe
 operation of the house and the residents being
 sincere.

5) Attitudes related to sex of ex-convict

About half of the sample felt that the ex-convict's
 sex makes a difference:

- i) 42% consider male ex-convicts more dangerous
 than female ex-convicts
 8% consider female ex-convicts more dangerous
 than male ex-convicts
 50% consider both sexes equally dangerous
- ii) On the other hand
 26% consider female ex-convicts more dishonest
 than male ex-convicts
 16% consider male ex-convicts more dishonest than
 female ex-convicts
 58% consider both sexes equally dishonest
- iii) As to what sex is easier to rehabilitate
 29% consider women easier to rehabilitate
 15% consider men easier to rehabilitate
 59% sex makes no difference in rehabilitation

8) Attitudes concerning judicial and prison systems in California

Only 5% felt that the California prison system is adequate. A large segment, 37%, professed ignorance in this area. The majority expressed dissatisfaction with the present system. 67% suggested concrete proposals for reducing the crime rate. These responses can be divided into two opposite positions of virtually equal proportions:

- i) One group (34%) expressed itself in favor of more progressive social assistance and legislation (22% mentioned more community involvement, 8% change through the courts, 4% more emphasis on prevention).
- ii) The other group (33%) expressed itself in favor of stricter "law and order" measures (20% mentioned more severe punishments, 13% asked for capital punishment).

CONCLUSIONS

- 1) The 55% who lacked identification feelings with criminal acts seems rather high. One study based on a sample of 1020 randomly selected males showed that 91% felt that they had committed one or more offenses for which they might have received jail or prison (The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, New York: Avon Books, 1968, pp. 147, 148). The results of this present study may be due to the young age of the respondents, the socially and/or economically privileged status, or projection.
- 2) There is quite a difference between attitudes towards the "ex-offender" in general and towards a person with a specific criminal record in a concrete situation. More than half the respondents don't judge ex-convicts by categories or stereotypes but by personal association and knowledge of the individual ex-convict.
- 3) If the ex-offender's claim of having been rehabilitated is backed up by a religious profession of conversion the respondents become more polarized, increasing both the positive and negative responses while greatly decreasing (from 45% to 18%) the "not so sure" responses, both positive and negative, with regard to religion. It may also reflect the

religious sentiment that it "takes a miracle" to effectively deal with crime. Only a superhuman power will do, nothing else will. As one respondent stated: "an unusual situation demands an unusual cure."

- 4) This questionnaire reflects the common feeling that men are more violent and dangerous than women. This is probably based on men's physical superiority in strength and the cultural emphasis on male assertiveness and aggressiveness versus the feminine passive and submissive role. The respondents also confirmed the old stereotype that women are less honest and more devious than men. The majority feeling that women are better prospects for rehabilitation as compared to men may reflect the cultural role for women as submissive to authority and thus more receptive, also with regard to instruction and correction.
- 5) Although the majority of the respondents rejected preconceived notions regarding ex-convicts some responses clearly showed stereotyped concepts with the following two emphases:
 - i) ex-convicts are dangerous
 Examples:
 - "I would feel uneasy" (being close to ex-convicts)
 - "because of their characteristics (dangerous) they could do myself bodily harm."
 - "there is no way that your going to let a 'con' come into a perfectly sane neighborhood and disrupt it for their own personal gains, that is to convert some younger kids in becoming cons themselves."
 - ii) ex-convicts are untrustworthy
 Examples:
 - "it's always in their minds to commit crimes."
 - "prisoners always end up back in the joint."
 - "they are dishonest and tell many lies."
 - "once a convict; always a convict."

Those respondents who expressed most fear and distrust as a rule also asked for more severe punishments for convicted criminals. Some extreme examples:

- "get death row moving again"
- "a good convict is a 'dead' convict."
- "also misdemeanor criminals should get 10 yrs at least in prison."

PENAL SYSTEM QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1a Have you, or any member of your family ever been convicted of a crime?
- yes....no.... If yes, please mark what applies:
- Felony.... misdemeanor....
- 2a Please indicate whether you have ever committed some crime for which you could have been sent to jail or prison.
- yes.... no.... don't know....
- 3a How do you feel towards an ex-offender?
- positive.... indifferent.... don't know....
- 3b Please explain your feelings.....
- 4a If an ex-felon had committed homicide, would you allow him/her in your home overnight? yes.... no.... indifferent.....
- Why, please explain.....
- 5a How do you feel about ex-convicts who say that they have been rehabilitated and changed their ways of living?
- 5b How do you feel about ex-convicts, or prisoners who profess a religious conversion experience?
- believe.... disbelieve....
- Why do you feel that way?
- 6a If a halfway house for parolees would be established in your neighborhood would you move.... stay clear.... welcome them....
- 6b Why, please explain.....

7a Do you feel differently towards male and female ex-convicts?

	male	female
more dangerous
more dishonest
easier to rehabilitate
Other, please explain.....		

8a Do you feel our present California prison system is adequate?

yes.... no.... un-informed....

8b Why is that?.....

8c Are you aware of the possibility of community based residential rehabilitative programs in California?

yes.... no....

8d Do you feel they would be a successful alternative to rehabilitating convicted felons?

yes.... no....

8e Why is that, please explain.....

9a What specific ideas and/or suggestions would you have which might help reduce our present crime rate?

10a Education:

Attended High School	Attended College
Completed	Completed

10b Family Income:

Under 5,000	15,000-19,999
5,000 - 9,999	20,000-24,999
10,000 - 14,999	25,000 -- plus

10c Male - Female

Single....

Widowed....

Married....

Divorced....

10d Age

Under 18....

35 - 44

18 - 20

45 - 54

25 - 34

65 plus

Appendix IV

AGREEMENT AND CONDITIONS OF PAROLE

State of California

PAROLE BOARD

To: _____ No. _____

THE PAROLE BOARD has granted you release on parole effective _____, 19____. This parole is accepted by you, subject to the following agreement and conditions. Should you violate any conditions of this parole, you are subject to arrest and the Parole Board may modify, suspend or revoke your parole, order your return to prison and refix your secondary term. Whenever any problems arise or you do not understand what is expected of you, talk to your parole agent.

AGREEMENT OF PAROLE

1. I agree to waive extradition to the State of California from any State or Territory of the United States, or from the District of Columbia, and also agree that I will not contest any effort to return me to the State of California.
2. Whenever it is determined by the Parole Board, based upon medical or psychiatric advice, that I am a danger to myself or others I understand the Parole Board may, if necessary for treatment, order my placement in a community hospital or my return to any facility of the Department of Corrections for up to 90 days.
3. I agree that I, my residence and any property under my control may be searched without a warrant at any time by any agent of the Department of Corrections or any law enforcement officer.

4. I understand that according to state and federal laws, I cannot own, use, have access to, or have under my control any type of firearm.
5. I have read or have had read to me, this agreement and the following conditions of parole. I fully understand them and I agree to abide by and strictly follow them. I fully understand the penalties involved should I violate this agreement or the conditions of parole.

Signature of Parolee

WITNESSED:

State Agent

Date

CONDITIONS OF PAROLE

1. RELEASE, REPORTING AND TRAVEL

Unless other arrangements are approved in writing, I agree to report to my parole agent immediately upon release. I will not leave the State of California without prior written approval of my parole agent. I agree to inform my parole agent within 72 hours of any change in employment or residence.

2. PAROLE AGENT INSTRUCTIONS

I agree to comply with instructions which may be issued by a parole agent, including participation in anti-narcotic testing.

3. CRIMINAL CONDUCT

I will not engage in conduct prohibited by law (state, federal, county, or municipal).

4. SPECIAL CONDITIONS

I agree to the following special conditions: _____

Appendix V

GUIDELINES
FOR
COMPLETING PAROLE AND LEADING TO DISCHARGE

The following guidelines are meant to improve your chances for successfully completing your parole. Your Parole Agent is ready to help you at any time. The best way to get your discharge is to build a good relationship with your Agent.

1. EMPLOYMENT:

It is important for you to provide for yourself and your family. Experience has shown that most of the women who are succeeding on parole are regularly employed or involved in school or training programs preparing for employment.

2. CIVIL RIGHTS:

A number of your civil rights have been suspended by law under Penal Code Section 2600. Specifically, the right to (1) act as a trustee; (2) hold public office or exercise the privilege of an elector; and (3) give a general power of attorney. Upon discharge from your term of sentence, you may give a general power of attorney. Eligibility to exercise the right to vote must be determined by the registrar of voters (not all felony convictions will disqualify you from voting).

Some civil rights affecting your everyday life have been restored to you by the Women's Board of Terms and Parole, BUT you may not exercise some of these without the approval of your Parole Agent. The following are some of the civil rights which have been restored to you at this time:

- A. You may make such cash purchases of clothing, food, transportation, household furnishings, tools, and rent such habitation as are necessary to maintain yourself and keep your employment.

- B. You are hereby restored all rights under any law relating to employees, such as rights under Workman's Compensation Laws, Unemployment Insurance Laws, Social Security Laws, etc. (Reference is made here to Women's Board of Terms and Parole Resolution No. 72/1).

Lack of good judgment in exercising these rights could result in your Parole Agent reporting the matter to the Women's Board to recommend special conditions be added to your parole agreement.

3. REGISTRATION:

You may be required to register because of a previous narcotic conviction or conviction of a registerable offense after your release to parole. If you have any questions, you are encouraged to discuss this matter with your Parole Agent or available local legal aid.

4. METHADONE:

Methadone is being used more and more as a means of managing the addiction problem. If you are considering this method for yourself, discuss it with your Parole Agent. She will help you secure competent medical advice. If, after doing this, you and your agent agree that this program is best suited for you, she will aid you in getting into an approved program.

5. MEDICATION:

For your protection, and to avoid suspicion of illegal use of drugs/narcotics, report all prescribed medication to your Agent.

6. DONATION OF BLOOD:

Persons with a history of narcotic and/or drug use may be carriers of hepatitis and this infection cannot be detected by examination. Use of your blood could dangerously impair the health of the person receiving it. Because of this danger do not give or sell your blood.

7. ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE CONSUMPTION:

Many parolee failures can be traced to excessive use of alcohol. Your relationships with others are disrupted or damaged and your ability to meet your responsibilities is impaired.

8. ASSOCIATES:

Association with criminally oriented persons could possibly lead you back into legal difficulties. Association with those individuals who remain addicts to drugs/alcohol or those who are criminally involved may endanger your future.

9. CASH ASSISTANCE:

The Parole and Community Services Division maintains a limited cash assistance fund. You may borrow from this fund in times of emergency through your Agent. This is a loan and is to be repaid as soon as you are able. The money you repay becomes available to others in need.

10. DISCHARGE UNDER PENAL CODE SECTION 2943:

If you have met the conditions of parole and followed the guidelines you will be eligible in your twenty-fifth month of parole for discharge. You are encouraged to discuss this with your Agent who will be reviewing your case with the Board at that time. This should be your goal.

11. PROCEDURES FOR RESTORATION OF RIGHTS AND APPLICATION FOR PARDON:

Procedures for filing for a Certification of Rehabilitation should be discussed immediately upon release with your Parole Agent.

Successful completion of the requirements will place you in a position of consideration for a pardon. The requirements are set forth in Penal Code Section 4852.01 through 4852.2. There is no expense involved.

Appendix VI

PRE-RELEASE SCREENING INTERVIEW DATA FORM

I. General Data Date _____

1. Name _____ Age ____ Race _____ So.Sec.# _____

2. Marital Status _____

3. Children _____

4. Church Background _____

5. Residence Background _____

II. Institutional Data

1. Received at CIW _____

2. Offense Description _____

_____ Date of Occurrence _____

3. Narcotics: User _____ Addict _____

4. Sentence _____

5. Minimum Eligible Parole Date _____

6. Prison Status _____

III. Education and Job Background

1. Years Completed _____

2. Program & Job Description _____

3. Classes & Work Placement at CIW _____

IV. Social History and Evaluation

V. Psychological Evaluation

VI. Institutional Conduct

VII. Application Evaluation

1. Applicant's Stated Goals
2. Supervisors' Comments

CROSSROADS, INCORPORATED

P.O. Box 15, Claremont, CA 91711

(714) 626-7847

California Institution,
Frontera, CA 91720,
Att. Women's Board of Terms and Conditions.

November 1975.

This is to confirm that Patricia White, 8887B has been accepted by Crossroads, Inc., as a prospective resident for the Claremont halfway house at 1269 N. Harvard.

Pat's vocational goals are related to the medical field. Her immediate goal is to get into the R.N. program. We have assisted Pat in enrolling at Mount San Antonio College. With some additional basic courses, the R.N. program would be open to her.

Pat would be able to start her academic program at Mt. SAC in February of 1976. This would be of great benefit to her as she would then be prepared to start the R.N. program when it begins the following September.

With Pat's academic background and ability together with her practical experience in this field we feel that her plans constitute a positive and realistic release program. With her motivation and the support of our residential setting we are confident that she will be able to benefit from these services.

Peter and Myra Van Katwyk.
Supervisors,
Crossroads, Inc.

CROSSROADS, INCORPORATED

P.O. Box 15, Claremont, CA 91711

(714) 626-7847

GENERAL PURPOSE, PROGRAM AND PROCEDURES

PURPOSE. Crossroads, Incorporated offers interim housing which will provide re-orientation and education for women newly released from prison. In a home environment people are supported in overcoming a fear of society and sense of loneliness and alienation and in achieving a general adjustment to normal responsibilities.

FAMILY MILIEU SETTING. The home is intended to provide a family environment in which those practical and spiritual values are emphasized which will help in giving direction and meaning to life. The supervisors consist of a qualified husband and wife team living in the home with their children to provide a full time presence and to constitute the core of an extended family setting of a shared experience of life.

HOUSE RULES AND STRUCTURE. All house members take part in regular household tasks. A structured schedule of hours, meals, group activities, visiting hours, etcetera will be adhered to in order to maintain order in the home and protect each person's health and welfare. Rigid regimentation is avoided however, in favor of an open family atmosphere where rules are made in a common sense of responsibility and consideration for each other's needs. Regular group meetings in which problems and concerns can be voiced and resolved are basic to this method of operation.

EMPLOYMENT. Crossroads, Incorporated provides an opportunity to obtain employment in the local community in cooperation with various community organizations and individual volunteer job scouts. Transportation is provided by the home while public transportation is utilized whenever possible. Once a person has secured employment she is encouraged to contribute up to \$30.00 a week, according to financial ability, toward food and the activities fund.

EDUCATION. Educational needs are met by local school programs. If schooling is indicated and desired all available resources, such as Vocational Rehabilitation, are explored. Vocational counseling and vocational training as well as the more academic programs are encouraged when a person shows the desire and ability to profit from such instruction.

SCREENING AND ADMISSIONS PROCEDURE. A screening committee carefully considers all applications. Only those applicants are accepted who give reasonable evidence of being able and willing to benefit by the home's program and services. All prospective house members are visited in prison on a regular basis by the home's supervisors until the actual time of their release. In this way the bond of a personal relationship will precede and facilitate the move to the home.

PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND COMMUNITY SERVICE. All house members take a responsible role in the overall programming of the home. They will be encouraged to take part in prison preventative presentations to schools, churches or various community groups.

APPENDIX IX

CLIENT-AGENCY RESIDENT CONTRACT

(MAGDALA FOUNDATION)

Magdala Foundation is a private not-for-profit organization providing community treatment services for the adult offender. These services include: residential, aftercare, and out-client treatment programs which offer individual and group counseling, vocational services, family counseling, psychological services, and referral services.

This agency exists to assist the ex-offender through rehabilitation efforts in the community. The effectiveness of the rehabilitation relates directly to the teamwork of the staff and the resident toward improved life situations for the resident.

Magdala Foundation has tentatively accepted you for admission to residency subject to your agreement with the following agency objectives and rules.

AGENCY OBJECTIVES

1. All residents are expected to work toward establishing and maintaining a constructive day. Because of individual differences, "constructive day" may include a number of different elements. The elements which make-up a constructive day include: a full-time job, vocational training, academic endeavors, collateral services or any combination of the above. This "constructive day" will be maintained at least seven consecutive weeks before clients are able to move from the residency program into the aftercare program. The aftercare program consists of maintaining the same or similar "constructive day" for a minimum of six months.
2. All residents are required to establish a savings account and accumulate a minimum of \$100 before completing the residency program.

AGENCY RULES

1. Possession of a weapon is not allowed and automatically results in immediate termination from residency.
2. Physical abuse against another person is not allowed and automatically results in immediate termination from residency.
3. All individuals with a recent history of drug or alcohol abuse or those demonstrating drug/alcohol abuse and/or behavior disorders which present a threat to the individual himself or to others while in residency must actively participate in specialized treatment from designated collateral agencies.
4. All residents must assume equal financial liability for any agency property stolen or damaged.
5. All residents are required to pay rent according to the current operating Rent Policy including any and all future revisions of the Rent Policy. No rent is required by residents who are under service contracts which meet Magdala Foundation's operating expenses. However, the resident must pay, as per the current rent schedule, into his/her bank savings account. These amounts will be returned to the client with any accumulated interest upon release. The money will be in addition to the customary regular savings account.

I have read the above Agency Objectives and Agency Rules; agree to abide by these rules; and will work towards achieving a consistent pattern of constructive activity. I understand the failure to comply with Agency Objectives and/or Rules will result in termination from the program and the Agency.

Client _____

Legal Authority _____

Title _____

Magdala Staff Member _____

Title _____

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